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SLAVERY OF PROSTITUTION



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TORONTO

SLAVERY OF PROSTITUTION

A PLEA FOR EMANCIPATION

BY

MAUDE E. MINER

SECRETARY OF THE NEW YORK PROBATION
AND PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION

New York

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1916

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**TO THE GIRLS
WHO HAVE BEEN AND SHALL BE FREED FROM
THE SLAVERY OF PROSTITUTION**

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INTRODUCTION

Young women are not living lives of prostitution simply because they wish to do so, but because of large profits which are being reaped by the commercialization of vice and because of factors which lie deeply rooted in social conditions. This is the crucial fact which during the last decade has revolutionized the public attitude toward prostitution. A new scientific and humanitarian spirit sharply challenges the necessity of this ancient evil. It holds that since nothing that is necessary is evil, nothing that is evil can be necessary. The traditional methods of dealing with vice totter and fall before this new spirit. Open toleration of resorts, and punishment of women offenders by fines and prison sentences, are abhorrent to the sense of justice born of an awakened social conscience.

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Loss of confidence in old methods compels us to discover new ways of grappling with this difficult problem. As a basis for this, knowledge of existing conditions is necessary. This book is neither a "vice report" nor a philosophical treatise, but an earnest study of what I consider without sensationalism or exaggeration to be the *slavery of prostitution*. This phrase is the only one which describes the condition of a large number of the girls and women whom I have known in the Night Court in New York City and of many of the three thousand girls whom I have known through the New York Probation and Protective Association. These girls have not been, except in rare instances, physically enslaved, but through loss of freedom of will and of action, they have been bound to prostitution. Their demoralization of character has constituted moral enslavement. ✓

It is possible to free girls from the slavery of prostitution by helping those who have been enmeshed in it and by preventing others from entering it. Experience in dealing with delinquent

INTRODUCTION

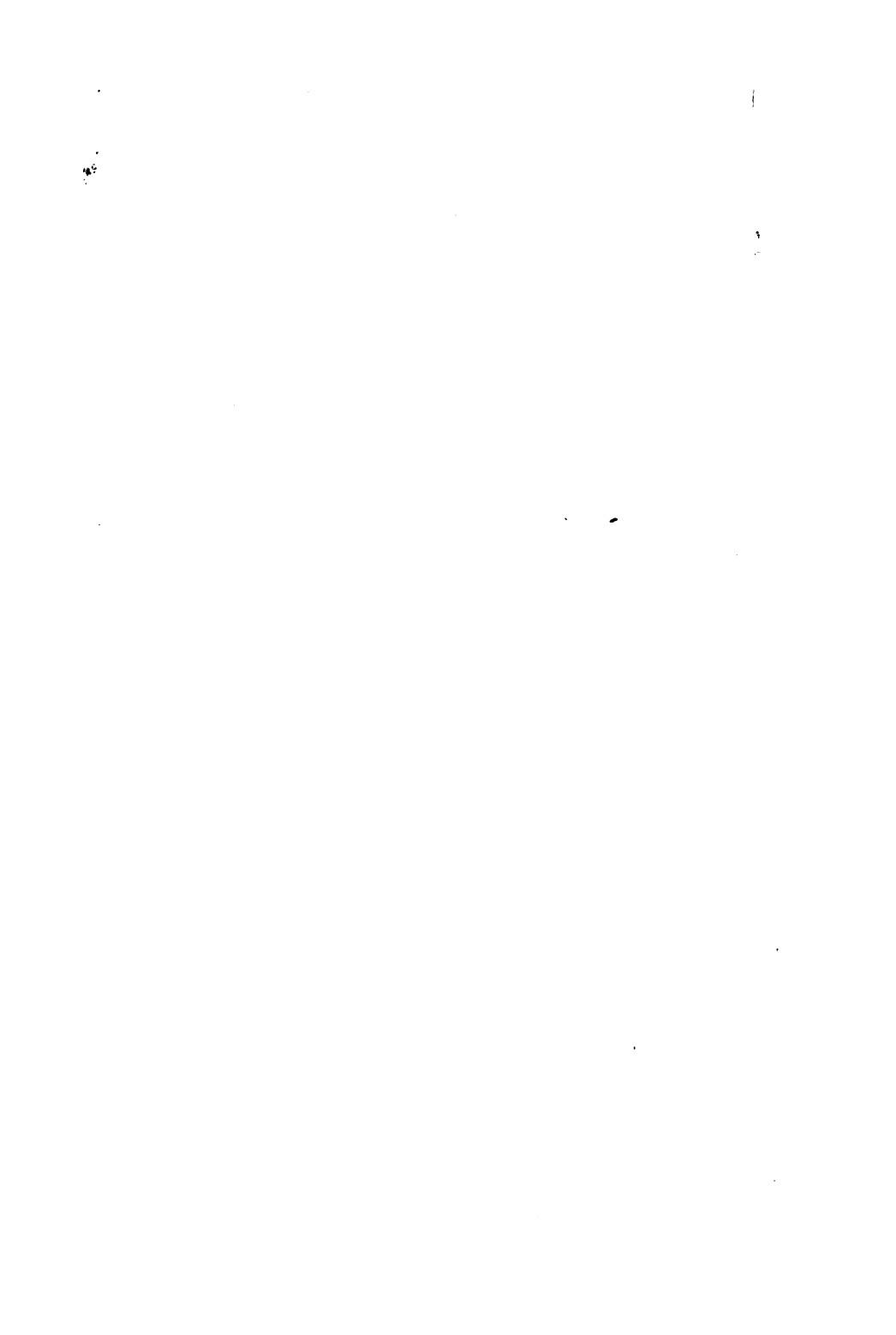
women in court, on probation, and at Waverley House, has shown me that many of those who have not lost all will-power and whose moral senses are not too dulled can return to normal, useful living. After their misrepresentations about themselves are brushed away by investigations and their real characters are revealed, we find them much like other girls and women. They are not necessarily vicious or depraved. To call them "ruined," "fallen," and "lost," and to consider them beyond hope of rehabilitation and help, is as cruel and unjust as it is absurd.

As efforts have been made to rebuild and strengthen characters that have been demoralized, the necessity of preventing girls from entering prostitution has become constantly more insistent. The need has been shown of a vigorous campaign of law enforcement, directed especially against exploiters who stimulate the demand for prostitution and the supply of young girls to meet that demand. Protection of difficult and runaway girls, organization of the Girls' Protective League, and educational work to lessen demand and supply and to arouse society to the need of safeguarding young women, have been part of a program of prevention. At the same time that protective barriers must be raised by society around feeble-minded, ignorant, untrained, and defenseless girls, educational work must be carried on among boys and girls to strengthen character, to teach self-control and the sanctity of the sex relationship, and to build up, as the ultimate safeguard, the spiritual defense.

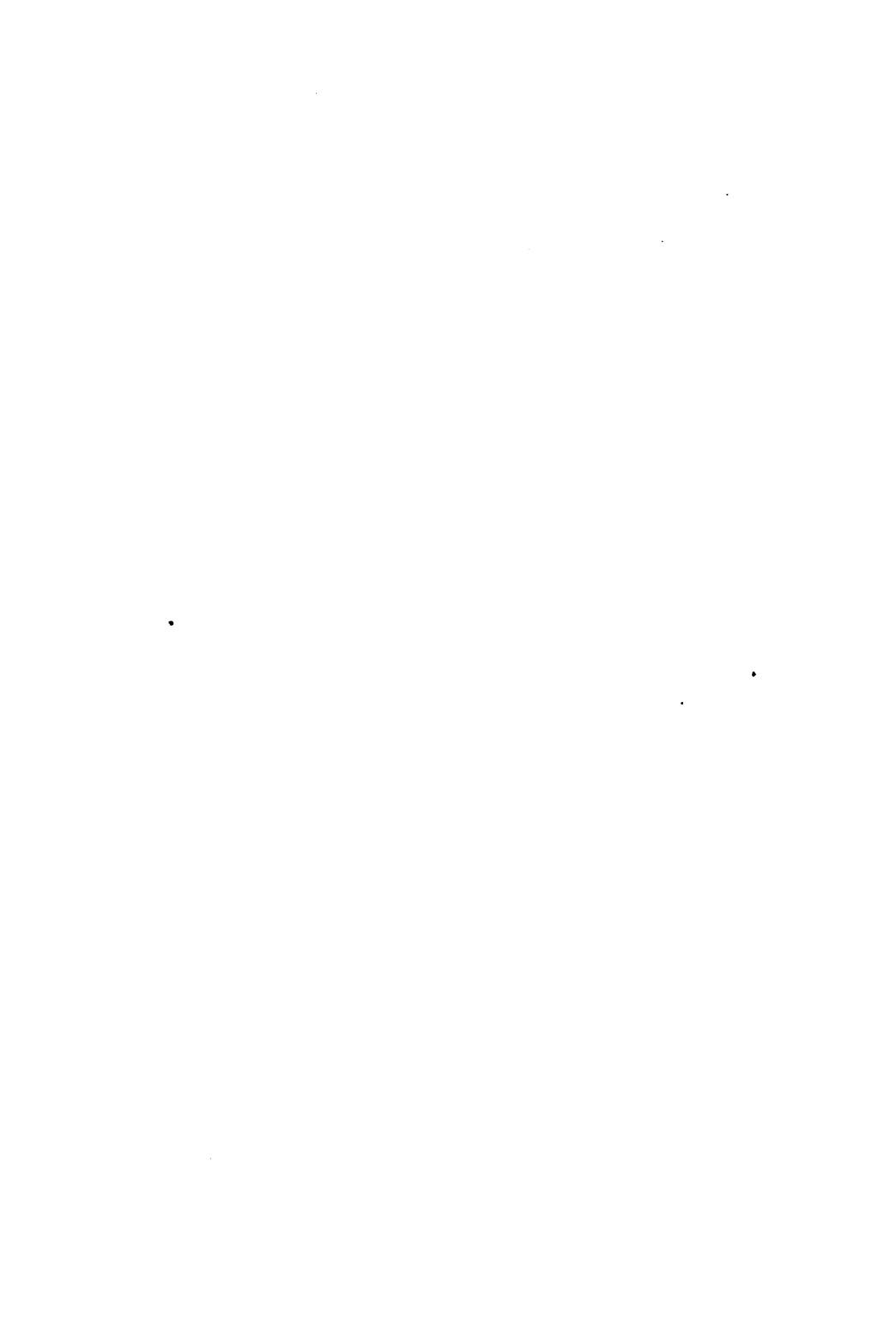
It is significant that those who study seriously the problem of lessening the great social evils, whether poverty, disease, or crime, lay greatest emphasis upon prevention. This note of prevention has been sounded clearly by two men who have created much in the field of social work, and to whom I am indebted for valuable suggestions and criticisms in writing this book—Dr. Edward T. Devine, Professor of Social Economy at Columbia University and Director of the New York School of

Philanthropy, and Dr. Richard C. Cabot, Chief of Staff of the Massachusetts General Hospital.

In pointing the way to improved methods of dealing with delinquent girls and of preventing others from entering prostitution, I owe the greatest debt to the young women I have known at the Night Court and at Waverley House, who have told me their stories freely and helped me to understand their problems. Many of these stories are given in the exact words of the girls; all are true to the facts as verified by investigations. The only change that has been made is to assign fictitious names so that girls may not be recognized. Knowledge that many of these girls have succeeded in their efforts to live honest lives, and have stood the test for seven or eight years, convinces me that the work is worth while and gives faith and courage for greater effort.



SLAVERY OF PROSTITUTION



SLAVERY OF PROSTITUTION

CHAPTER I

THE SLAVERY OF PROSTITUTION AS SEEN IN THE NIGHT COURT

When in 1907 I took up my duties as probation officer in the Night Court, I saw each night passing before the bar of justice a long procession of men and women. The black-gowned magistrate sitting behind the desk in the brilliantly lighted court room looked down at the prisoner before him, listened to the story of complainant and defendant, judged of the guilt or innocence of the accused and often pronounced sentence summarily. One after another the prisoners passed in rapid succession. There were Russian push-cart peddlers who had been selling without a license, Greek flower venders with their trays of violets and pansies, Syrian women with baskets of laces on their arms, toil-worn truckmen and well-liveried chauffeurs who had violated the rules of the road, and men and women who had been found intoxicated upon the public streets. Then as the black hands of the illumined clock on the tall, dark tower outside pointed nearer the hour of midnight, there appeared many women whose bearing and dress betrayed their wretched manner of life. At times between nine o'clock at night and three in the morning, as many as 100 or 165 of these unfortunate women of the street and the brothel passed in that long procession. There were girls from the crowded homes in the city, immigrant girls who had been but a short time in America, and country girls who had run away from small towns and villages to hide their disgrace in a big city. Nearly all had been working

girls and at some time had been employed in factories, stores, kitchens or workshops. They were of all ages and races and of different religious faiths. There were young girls who were just crossing the brink into a life of vice, ignorant girls who had fallen into the clutches of vicious procurers, women who had been a short time on the street, in parlor houses or call flats, and hardened offenders who had given up all hope of escape.

AN OLD OFFENDER

"Rose Schafer," calls the court attendant, and a few moments later the prisoner, pale and thin, with a very hard, pock-marked face, firmly set lips and defiant manner, stands before the judge. She casts one piercing, threatening glance at the officer on the right, and then looks up at the magistrate.

"I admit I'm a prostitute, yer Honor, but I didn't speak to no cop. He's just tryin' to knock me. I was walkin' down the Avenue and into an ice cream parlor when he steps up an' grabs me." It was Rose, well known in this court and on the street as an "old timer." Other girls said that the scar on her cheek was where her Italian "lover" had slashed her four or five years ago. "She was han'some then," one of the girls confided to me, "wore swell clothes and had di'monds, and was one of the luckiest girls on Broadway. She saved money too, an' all of us girls knew she had a thousand dollars on the bank. But it was all up with her when she began to sniff the coke.¹ She's crazy when the dope is in her. They say she is living now with a colored feller, but I don't believe it's true. One thing is sure, she's not like some of 'em, makin' her money stealin'. I never knew her to trim a man."

Meantime, the judge was talking to the officer, and Rose awaited her sentence. She knew she had eighty days "coming" to her in the workhouse, and that was the reason she was fighting hard against it. She used to get only a fine or discharge when an easy judge was sitting, but she knew a "bad" judge was on to-

¹ Cocaine.

night, and she expected no mercy. She had heard that he was even sending girls to Bedford for two or three years, but she had given her age as thirty-one and thought she was safe. She would rather have workhouse than Bedford.

"Give me workhouse or anything," she finally said, impatient to hear the fateful word whatever it might be. "I'll take my medicine."

"Workhouse" was the judge's decision. After hearing it, Rose walked slowly back to her cell in the prison.

"I tell yer, there ain't no such thing as justice," she said as I stopped for a moment before her cell. "Send girls to that workhouse to scrub and sit in a cell, as though that didn't make 'em worse! Put 'em in prison or take their money—that's all they want of us. I wish I had the money I give to bondsmen an' lawyers an' cops an' courts. I'd be rich today. Sure the city gets rich off us girls, an' fly cops wouldn't have no jobs if it wasn't for us! An' decent women and children wouldn't be safe to walk on the streets!" She justified herself in her profession. Society had decreed prostitution was a necessity and she was only helping to fulfil the decree.

"There ain't nothing in the life. An' yet what else can we do?" continued Rose, her voice softening a bit. "I've always worked like a slave, and I never had nothing out of it. Ever since I started in a paper bag factory in Russia when I was eight years old and earned what would be 20 cents a week, I tell you it's been bad. We was always poor at home and even after we come to America, I sold papers every night after school. I used to stand down there around Brooklyn Bridge with a bunch of papers under my arm till I was shivering through with cold. I never earned more than \$3 a week in the box factory here in New York, and what can you do with \$3? Besides I had to give every penny of it in at home. When you start in this life you think you're gettin' a lot at first because it's easy money, but you don't have nothin' out of it. I tell you there's no luck in that money.

"No, I'm not givin' any more to that loafer. I kept him for two or three years, and he got every cent away. I knew I was a fool to stay with him, and every once in a while I left him. But this time it is for good. I can't explain it myself. I know he had other women, and still I stuck to him. When I'm with him, it's like I was in a different world, and I *had* to do as he said. I forget I can be free and do as I please. I seem to think he's got a right to my money and I give it to him whether he asks it or not.

"But even if I'm bad myself, I always hate to see the chickens come in, an' I give them good advices and tell the kids to quit. One night I paid a girl's carfare to her home in Brooklyn an' told her I'd have her pinched if she didn't go back to her mother. She was only a sixteen-year-old.

"Sure all us girls hate the life." There was pathos in her tone as she told of it. "Sometimes when them stars peek out in them heavens, my heart falls down in my shoes. I know I've got to go out. I've got to be out until three or four o'clock the next morning, and you don't even have a kind word." Then came again the hopeless question: "But what else can we do? If some one had spoke to me nice when I first got started wrong, instead of sending me off to a reformatory, I might a-listened. I was only fifteen then. But when you're so long in the life—ten years it is for me—I tell yer there ain't no use. That's all—it's too late now."

Rose spoke the truth. She had become enslaved by cocaine, by the drink and by the "life." She was taking her medicine.

A NEWCOMER TO PROSTITUTION

A sweet faced, light-haired girl enters the court room through the prisoners' door. Her head is lowered as if to hide her face from the spectators in the court. All the time, as she told me later, the words of an older girl in the detention cell rushed through her mind. "Get up yer nerve and quit yer cryin', Kid; give 'em a phony name an' address; keep shy of the probation

woman; tell 'em yer 22, and pretend yer an old one at the game."

Kathleen looked up for a moment at the kindly face of the magistrate, as if determined not to let anyone know she had been crying. The judge turned to the complaining officer and said quickly, in a monotone, "Swear-to-tell-the-truth-the-whole-truth-and-nothing-but-the-truth,-so-help-you-God." The officer took the oath. Then he proceeded to give evidence against the girl—how she had solicited him on the street and had offered to take him to a neighboring hotel. As horrible details were being recounted, Kathleen kept her eyes fixed upon the floor. "Guilty or not guilty?" questioned the magistrate. "What the officer says is true," Kathleen answered quietly.

The judge looked at the paper which he had in his hand, and read from the complaint. "Twenty-two years old?" he questioned. "Yes," was the reply. "How long have you been on the street?" "Two years," was the answer.

I had noted the youthful appearance of the girl, her sensitive face, and her manner so different from the other women. I saw that she had been crying, and judged, in spite of her answers, that she was a newcomer to prostitution. The judge spoke to me for a moment and then turned to Kathleen: "Go inside and tell the truth to this lady."

I talked earnestly with Kathleen; heard the story that her parents were dead and that she had no relatives in the city; learned the address of the furnished room where she had been living, and the different stores where she had worked as a sales-woman. She said that she had left school three years before and had worked for over two years. "How then have you been two years on the street?" I questioned. "Did you solicit while working?" She denied this, and soon admitted that she had been but four months "in the life." She had been obliged to get her "working papers" as soon as she could, and "didn't have much chance for education." "Then you are seventeen years old," I said. Kathleen admitted it. "They told us girls got off

easier if they said they were older and had been a long time out," she explained.

The judge permitted Kathleen to go to Waverley House for the night, while her story was being verified. We found that the name and address were false, but finally learned the truth. "I couldn't believe that anyone would really help me, but now that I know you mean good for me, I'll tell you all the truth," she said.

"After my mother died, my father left us and we didn't have even enough to eat. I had been earning \$5 a week in a store, but I couldn't look after the children and go to work every day too. Someone told me to tell the Gerry Society. Then the officer came and took the children away. I went to court and they made my father pay for the children in homes. I hated to see my little sister and brother get put away.

"After our home broke up, I went as a waitress in a Long Island hotel, and there I met the man who promised to marry me. I know now he never meant it. When I felt sick, he said I shouldn't work any more, and he brought me to a furnished room to stay till my baby was born. He went out that first day and said he'd come back at night. But he never came, and I didn't have any money at all. 'He'll never come back,' the girl on the parlor floor told me, when she saw how much I was worrying. 'Why don't you go out and get money and nice clothes like the rest of us do?' she asked me, and she showed me all the fine things she had. I thought she meant for me to go to work and I said, 'I'll go out tomorrow and look for a job if only I feel better.' 'Oh, I mean an easier way,' she said. Then she told me all about it.

"I was all discouraged and I gave right in to her. She took me on the streets, and the man who lived with her took us to some of those cafés and dancing places. He helped her to break me in. I gave all the money I made to her and she said she'd mind it for me. Sometimes it was as much as \$25 on a Saturday night, and once it was \$40. But I didn't have anything from

it,—no good clothes or nothing. I said I was going to leave her and go to work, but she wouldn't give me a penny. She said her fellow had spent it. Finally, I did leave and I intended to look for work, but I was so shabby I knew no one would give me a job. I stayed for three days in a charity home and slept in a room with a lot of old women. Most of them had been drinking, I guess. We had horrid tin plates to eat from and no good place to sleep. My, it was awful there!

"I thought I'd go out just a few nights more till I could get a few things to wear, and after that I'd stop it all. Then I got arrested. It's a dreadful thing, I know. At first I used to cry every night to think what wrong I was doing. But it's different after a while. Oh, I'll come every day to report if only the judge will give me one more chance."

An investigation was made, and the next night, when the case was called and the true story told to the judge, Kathleen was placed on probation.

THE GIRL OF THE CALL FLAT

A short, fair-haired girl, Margaret King, was before the judge charged with violation of the tenement house law, living as a prostitute in a tenement house. Annie Clarke, an older and hardened looking woman, stood beside her charged with maintaining a disorderly resort. The magistrate listened attentively to the officer's story and then turned to the younger defendant. "Mrs. Clarke called me on her 'phone and I went up to her call flat," said Margaret. "When I went into the room a man was sitting there and she introduced him to me. He said, 'Who will I pay?' and she took a ten dollar bill from him. Then he blew his whistle and this other officer came in." When Margaret turned toward her companion, she saw the flushed face and the look of anger. "I have nothing to say," said the call-house keeper, in a bitter, stinging tone, as she realized that this girl, who she had supposed would surely "stand by" her, had actually turned against her.

Margaret was twenty years old, pretty and apparently refined, judging from her words and the tone of her voice. She had been told by the judge to tell the truth, and she had no thought of lying to protect her companion. As she stood talking with me after the trial was over, she said, "I didn't think I could ever talk in court, but I had to answer the truth, didn't I? She was advertising it as a massage parlor in a weekly paper, but it wasn't a massage parlor at all. If I had known that she advertised like that, I wouldn't have gone up there. I supposed it was like other call flats I'd known. I used to go up to those different places whenever I was called by 'phone. Usually I got \$10, and I gave \$4 to the woman who keeps the place. Oh, there are hundreds of those places! The book the police got last week when they caught the fifteen-year-old girls in a raid, had a list of 400, you know. When you go to a call house, the lady pretends she doesn't know what you are doing. That is the way she gets out of it. Girls like to go to call houses because they are freer and make a lot more money. I wouldn't think of going on the streets. I pity the street girls so. The other night I met a nice little girl only seventeen years old. She was crying and she begged me to get her into one of these good houses. She has a Jewish fellow and she's awfully afraid of him. Perhaps you could do something to get her away. Once he said he was going to put her two eyes out with hat pins. I never mixed up with bad men like that. My people are such that I couldn't do it. I have always been in the best of places and gone with the finest people. I couldn't stand anything low. You see my uncle was awful good to me always, and my grandmother would die if she ever thought I was a bad girl. I always used to live at home with my grandmother.

"Twice I worked in the store at holiday-time and earned \$3 a week. Then I went off with a show and got eighteen and twenty dollars. When a girl goes on the stage there are all sorts of temptations. If it isn't the manager, it's the leading man in the show who is following her around. After the show most every

one of the girls goes out to have something to eat and they go on eating and drinking till early in the morning. And that was the way,—it was all because I got drunk. I had been with the show three weeks and we were on one-night stands. I began as a dancer in the pony ballet. The ponies are the smallest, you know. Sooner or later, most all the show girls get kept. When I came to New York, I met the man who kept me for nearly a year. He was a nice English gentleman and lived in the swellest hotel. The first night I met him he gave me \$20,—just for luck, he said,—and he asked me to meet him the next day. I thought it was grand to get so much money. I used to meet him nearly every afternoon and we dined in a Broadway restaurant. Sometimes he'd have dinner alone, and we'd meet in the evening and go to the theatre together. He always gave me \$20 a night. He thought I lived with my grandmother and had to get home at twelve o'clock sharp. I wouldn't have got so much money, if he hadn't thought I was so good. But I went to live in a hotel where my bedroom, sitting-room and bath cost me \$30 a week. In the daytime I went around to theatres and luncheons and to see my friends. I never went with common fellows or girls that go on the street,—only with show girls or kept girls.

"When the old man went back to England, I went back to the show. Then I met a young Wall street man. He didn't have so much money, but he bought me clothes and gave me ten or twenty dollars whenever I needed it. 'Twas after that I came to Mrs. Clarke's house. I know I didn't have to do it like other girls, because I have a good home; but you don't always think of those things before. You don't know how far you're going when you first start going around."

"Probation for six months," was the judge's word to Margaret when the time for sentence came. "And you," he continued, turning to Mrs. Clarke, "are held in \$1,500 bail for trial in the court of Special Sessions."

A RUNAWAY GIRL

"Associating with dissolute and vicious persons in danger of becoming morally depraved," was the charge against sixteen-year-old Florence White when frightened, bewildered, and ashamed she stood before the judge. She was resigned to any fate that might befall her, and because of her father's many threats, she expected the worst.

As the name of her father was called, a tall, gaunt man hurriedly ascended the bridge. "I refuse to give her another chance. I want her put into an institution where she can't get out till she is twenty-one," he said to the judge, in an excited, determined tone. "I threatened to bring her here two weeks ago and she ran away. I've searched for her night and day ever since and to-night I caught her. She's been living with a man—she can't deny it."

When the judge spoke to Florence about returning to her home, she assumed an obstinate and defiant manner. "I don't care what you do with me," she said, "but I'll not go home. My father drove me away and now I'll stay away." The magistrate sent the girl in to the probation officer for help in solving the problem. Relieved of the tension of the court, Florence's defiant spirit disappeared. She covered her face with her hands and cried. When she regained composure, she said, "I'm sorry now for it all. I never thought it would come to this. I don't mind so much for myself, but I hate to worry my mother. I'd never have left my home if my father hadn't threatened all the time to put me away. He called me all kinds of names and I knew nothing could be worse than home."

"He was always mean to me from a little child up. I always feared him and disliked him. I admit I made one mistake, and he's never forgiven me for it. He casts it up to me all the time and is always suspecting me of things. That was nearly two years ago, when we lived in New Mexico on a big ranch not far from Santa Fé. Raymond, a doctor's son, used to ask me to go

horseback riding and take me to parties. He would meet me every night after school and we would ride home together. One day he told me he loved me better than anyone in all the world and asked me to marry him. We knew my father would never consent, so we planned to go off at night and get married in a little town near by. But we had to cross the prairies past my house, and somehow my mother caught us. That ended our going away. I owned up everything to mother and they made a terrible time of it. Father wouldn't speak to me for days and wouldn't let me go off the ranch or even out of the house. I was just like a prisoner there. When my grandfather died, mother had to come right away east, and father was to come in two weeks and bring me with him. I planned to meet Raymond the day before I was to leave, and he begged me not to go. He said he could never live without me and asked me if I still would marry him. I went with him to a house behind a poolroom that night, so that my father wouldn't find me. Raymond promised to go ahead to Denver and prepare everything and then come back and get me. I waited and waited for him, but he never came. Then a friend of my father's found me and took me off to a convent. I came east with two Catholic sisters who were going to Boston, and they left me here in New York.

"I thought I never could face my father. He accused me of dreadful things and made my life more unhappy than ever. When I went to work downtown in the store, I met this other man. He took me to luncheon and then got me a place uptown as a model. I never loved him like I did Raymond. Still, when he asked me to marry him, I thought I might as well do it. I knew I could never be happy. When things went bad at home, he offered to take me away. I didn't know then they had hotels for wrong purposes. Instead of taking me to a good place, as he promised, he took me to a hotel where there were a lot of bad people. Then he brought me to the house where my father found me. Now it doesn't matter at all what happens. I heard it was all in the paper about my running away from

home—my picture and everything. Everyone will look down upon me and I'll never be able to face anybody again.

"No, I mean what I told the judge. I'll never go home as long as my father is there. He threatens to go away, and I only wish he would. It's wrong, I suppose, to feel that way toward your father, but he's just driven me to hate him. If you'd send me anywhere to work, I'll promise to do my best. I don't want to be put away."

When an hour later Florence again stood before the judge, she listened to his kindly words. "I'm going to be lenient with you this time. I will not commit you to an institution nor require you to go to your home, but I will let you go with this probation officer to a place where she will take you. The complaint against you is dismissed."

A PARLOR HOUSE GIRL

"For God's sake!" cried one of the girls when she caught sight of me in the court, while the complaint was being made out against her. "Save me from that awful workhouse. Just this time, Miss Miner," she pleaded. The pale, thin face, pointed chin, narrow mouth, quizzical smile and dreamy, almost stupid expression, could belong to but one girl—Rachel Goldberg. Her request to talk with me before her trial was granted.

"You know what I've suffered," she cried, "the way they starved me at that workhouse before my baby was born, and how I hated to have her born in that dreadful place; how I used to beg to go to the hospital there, and they wouldn't let me, but made me scrub all the time. Ever since I was in that workhouse, seems like I've got no pity for nobody and my heart is made out of stone. You remember I came down to you with my baby in my arms the day I came off the Island, and you gave her clothes, and sent me up with that lady to stay a few weeks. Well, I thought I couldn't support the kid so I decided to give her up. One day I went to the place where they put the babies away. I heard all you had to do was to drop the baby in a

basket. I wonder what people thought when they seen me cryin' in the car! When I thought I was nursing her for the last time, I just cried and cried. I went in and there was another girl giving up her baby in the basket and she never shed a tear.

"I ain't got the heart to give her away," I says to the man in the hall, when he asked me what I wanted to do. They said I could stay in the place if I'd nurse another baby. So I stayed and nursed both babies, and sewed nearly nine hours a day until my baby died. I had her baptized in their faith, for I had no peace till I let them do it. If it had been a Christian father, I wouldn't have minded so much, but the father was Jewish too.

"Only God knows what I've suffered, and now I don't know what to do. They say my father's dying in the hospital, and I don't even dare go to see him. Just do this. Write to my home and find out about my little sister, and see she don't turn out like me. I'd rather die than see her a prostitute. If she does, it's my stepmother's fault. She was always so mean to us children, and I tell you we've had it tough.

"When I was only twelve years old, I had to stay up in that noisy old paper-box factory instead of playing with the kids on the street. Then when we moved here from Philadelphia, they wouldn't let me work 'cause I hadn't enough school to get working papers. My stepmother was sore on me 'cause I didn't bring home my eight or nine dollars a week and she treated me like a dog. I went all over to find about getting the papers, and some one told me I had better go to a school to learn a trade. I always wanted to learn dressmaking, and my father was satisfied for me to go. In the school I had it good. When I used to go home to see my little sisters once a week, they would cry and tell me how hard they got it. I used to feel bad to think I had plenty to eat and sometimes they were almost starving.

"My father moved back to Philadelphia; so when I come out of school I boarded with my cousin and worked at ladies' wrappers. Then I met a girl who put lots of bad stuff in my head. She said I was a fool to sit up in a sweatshop all day and

work for so little, when I could earn all kinds of money and dress swell and wear diamonds. My cousin warned me to keep away from her, but I wouldn't listen. I gave up work and tried to learn dancing for a burlesque show, but I didn't care for that. Then this lady-friend got me acquainted with a feller who made his living by stealing. I owed two weeks' board, and my cousin said, 'If you have no money for board you needn't come home any more.' I took her at her word. That night I didn't go home, but went with that grafter to a hotel. I thought to myself, I have no luck anyway, and I don't care much what becomes of me. This feller that ruined me put me in a parlor house, and says he'd collect the money and take me out once a week. I didn't know that he had several women in houses.

"I was only seventeen, but the boss of the house made me dress so I wouldn't look so young and told me to say I was twenty-one in case of a raid. They said I had to pay \$20 a week for board, and the money they gave to the man who brought me there. I don't know how much it was, but the girls used to say they paid \$150 or \$200 for those who were supposed to be straight. Oh, that place is one awful nightmare. I tell you it was Hell. The cursin' and fightin' and drinkin' was fierce. We used to sit there all dressed up in the parlor. Some nights I had as many as thirty-six brass checks to my credit, and yet I had nothing out of it. With kimonas and silk stockings and clothes and the rest, they got me way in debt. I wanted to get out of that place, but they wouldn't leave me go. They claimed it was all because I owed so much money and said, 'You can't get out when you're in debt.' I knew a friend of my cousin's worked in a drug store near by, and I got out a note to him. He come over and told the madame a few things. 'If you don't let her out, I'll have the place pulled,' he says; and they left me go after that.

"I goes back to Philadelphia and straight to my father's house. It was dark and pouring rain and I was ashamed to go in. I didn't know how much my father had heard. He was

sleeping upstairs and said for me to come up. When he seen me, he started crying and says, 'My daughter, you've broke my heart. I wish to God I was dead rather than live to see my daughter turn out a bad woman. You have ruined your whole life forever, and if you get married you can never have a happy life.' I never remembered him to be so kind. He put his arms around me and kissed me, and I felt dreadful bad.

"Soon my stepmother finds I am going to have a child and tells me I have to go away. I come to New York again and asks the grafter, who had got me in trouble, what I am to do. He wouldn't do a thing for me or give me a bit of money, but told me to go to Bridgeport to a place he knew of there. I had only sixty-eight cents to my name. After I paid fifty cents for my fare on the boat and spent ten cents for food, I landed in Bridgeport with just eight cents left. At the ferry, I spoke to a cab-man and he said he would take me to the house. I wasn't there but a little time, when I felt dreadful sick, and the madame sent me off to the hospital. I owed her \$125. She seen I couldn't pay it, and as soon as I was feeling better, she shipped me back to New York. Then I fell in with a lot of bad street girls and got six months on the Island. After my baby died, I met the cop who promised to marry me. I didn't find out he was married till six months later, when I went down to Staten Island to learn for myself. I'd never gone with him a day if I'd known he had a wife and child. He's afraid I'll squeal on him and make him lose his job. He knew all the time what I'd been, for the girls on the Avenue used to guy him about me.

"Then I was dreadful sick and I made up my mind not to be bad again. I went to work as a button-hole operator and for two months stuck to it hard. It's not so easy to live on eight or ten dollars a week after you're used to forty or more. I'll admit I've been going out on Saturday nights to make a little extra money, and this week I was out of work. I've been a prostitute and you know it and perhaps you'd call me one still; but I'll die if I solicited that copper to-night. Why, he told me that he seen

me in a house in Twenty-eighth Street less than a week ago. You know that is a lie. After you've tried the streets, you ain't likely to be a slave in a parlor house again."

The case was called and Rachel stepped up to the bar. The judge listened to the officer's testimony and quickly said: "I'll fine you five dollars this time. The next time you're brought in here, I'll send you away for six months or three years."

Rachel had not spoken to the judge and she almost gasped when she heard the word that meant freedom. A five-dollar fine was "easy." Turning to the place where I stood, she said in an audible whisper, "You'll never see me here again. Thank God and the judge, it ain't the workhouse for me."

A CLEVER WOMAN OF THE STREETS

A girl stands before the bar,—her arms akimbo, her blue princess dress sufficiently short to show her silk stockings and her patent leather pumps, her white straw hat with large, drooping black feather in the back, drawn well down over her ears. I looked for a moment and could hardly believe what I saw. It was Helen who had been placed on probation a few weeks before and shortly after committed to a reformatory because she violated the conditions of her release. Now within two weeks, she was out and again arrested for soliciting. How had she been discharged? I had opportunity to question her before the trial proceeded.

"You see the girls got together and chipped in \$5 and \$10 apiece and made up a pot of money," said Helen. "They collected it at the hotel in Thirty-fifth Street and got \$200. The manager of the hotel came up to the reformatory with a discharge from the judge that committed me. All I know is that I got out right away. No, I didn't have to go to court or see any judge or nothing. I just walked out with the man and they didn't say a word. He has a lot of political pull, you know. Oh, if the hotel manager knows I bring him into it like this, all of 'em will want to kill me. But, honest, what good does a refor-

tory like that do you? It's only a lot of sweatshop work and praying. It would never make me better, I know. I'll do anything if the judge won't send me back to that awful place."

"Impossible that a discharge has been granted," said the magistrate when I told him the story. "No judge has power to discharge without an appeal or *habeas corpus* writ. I will hold this woman for examination and meanwhile you can make an investigation."

"It makes no difference whether you do something or whether you don't, you get blamed for it just the same," said Helen, as she went through to the prison. "I never spoke to that man to-night, and he must admit it if he tells the truth. They're just sore on me 'cause they see me out again. The detective that arrested me to-night is a partner of the one that had me when I was sent away." One moment Helen's face was flushed with anger, and the next she was in tears.

When I went early the next morning to see Helen, she welcomed me as a friend. As I sat down beside her on the cot within the dark cell, she talked freely of the way in which girls secured release from reformatory and prison, and told me more of her own life-story. "I'm not the only one that pays to get out," she said. "Sophie Bergman got out of doing three years at Bedford by giving up \$250. She had money in the bank herself, but I never saved a cent. I had to spend two weeks in that awful place; but Sophie never even went to Bedford. And look at the way they get out of the workhouse. It's really a joke. Lot's of girls swap their sentences with old women who don't mind spending eighty days or six months in that place. Of course the street girls pay well for it—slip the old ladies twenty-five or fifty dollars for the privilege of taking their names and walking out at the end of five or ten days. There are so many in that place, I suppose no one ever knows the difference. And look at the way lawyers who have pulls with a judge get girls discharged from the workhouse. I know a lot of girls who've got out that way. Sometimes the judge pretends to put 'em

on probation, and yet they never have to come to report and they go right back to the streets. It's a lot of use sending girls to the workhouse, when they let 'em out the next day. Is that justice, I'd like to know?"

Then turning abruptly to her own sad plight, Helen continued, "Oh, if I hadn't married that husband of mine, I'd never have been on the streets. I was working in a restaurant at Coney Island, and he was painting scenery at the time. When I married him, I thought he was a working fellow and would treat me right. I was just eighteen then and didn't know how much badness was in the world. He used to come in and hit me and call me all bad names. He kicked me just before my baby was born, and I was trembling with fear all the time. The way he abused me so, why wouldn't my baby be crippled? Then, too, he'd not give me money. He'd bring in two cents' worth of bread and butter, and not give me enough to buy clothes for the baby. I found out what he was, after he introduced me to several bad women. They told me that one of his girls came from a rich family in Boston and she's in an insane asylum now. When he lost his job, he told me to go out with the girls on the street and they'd show me how to make money. I cried at first, but he hit me and made them break me in.

"Seems to me I never had it like other girls; it was always trouble at home and only a little time did I have at home. I don't even know where my mother is now, whether in Seattle or Portland, and I know she isn't the right sort of woman herself. She used to live away down in Mobile. Her father was an Englishman who came over in a sailing vessel, and her mother a Spanish dancing girl who was once at the court in Madrid. When there came the discovery of gold, my grandparents went to Texas and then settled in a mining town way up in Oregon. I heard how my grandmother ran away twice from home and how my grandfather used to threaten that if he'd find her, he'd kill her. He found her in California and divorced her a few months later. My mother never saw her again, but she had

letters that grandmother was very poor. Mother married my father when she was only sixteen. Father had got in trouble in the East and been sent by his people to Oregon. He ran away and left my mother when I was six months old, and I was put with foster-parents.

"My mother paid my board for a while, till she went away to Wisconsin. I stayed with my foster-mother and went to school in Portland. I had to cross the railroad tracks to get to my home from school, and there they had the hook-shops. I can remember when I was eight years old, the bad women looking out of the windows and talking to us. When my mother stopped paying my board, the society that protects small children came and took me away. Then I was put in a home—an orphan asylum you'd call it—and I stayed there for two or three years.

"But my mother got married again and sent to Oregon for me. I was glad to go back to school, and I always used to get all the prizes. I know I can't speak English good now after getting so much Tenderloin talk, but I used to be first in the class. I've forgotten most of the Latin I knew, and I only took a little Greek. I learned the geometry theorems by heart and could rattle them off at a good rate. The declamations were the best of all, and I got chose for two of the contests when I was there in Wisconsin. Then I could quote from sixteen Shakespeare plays.

"My stepfather used to get drunk, and when he'd come home at night intoxicated, he would hit my mother. Once I thought he was going to choke her. He put me out of the house when I was sixteen years old, just before I finished high school. There was an awful fight; he told me to get out, and I left. I used to think it was a crime to be alive, and prayed to be taken away. My mother even felt sorry for me 'cause he treated me so and never let me have any pleasure at all.

"I sailed up the Mississippi to St. Paul, and then went right to Minneapolis. When I landed, two dollars and a half was every

cent I had. At an employment agency, I got a place to do housework. I was supposed to be second maid, and they paid me \$3 a week for waiting on table, polishing floors and scrubbing. And working for those nice, respectable people, I got into trouble. The oldest son took me to a wine room in a hotel and gave me some drinks. I never drank before in all my life, and I didn't remember a thing till I woke up the next morning. Then I was ashamed to go back to the house and I didn't know what to do. A girl told me I could go with a show, and they gave me a job in *Fantana*." Helen hummed the air as she tossed her head: "I don't know why I love you, but I do, I do."

"I went to Chicago and played in the Amsterdam, and when *Fantana* broke up, I went into burlesque. But I began to feel bad and had rheumatism, and all my joints pained me so. Then I learned that I had a dreadful disease." There was a sudden change in her tone, and all the old bitterness returned. "Shame upon all those people who hold their heads so high—the men who ruin the lives of girls! We must suffer while they go free. I've had my share since then.

"I had been playing in Buffalo and they sent me off to the hospital," said Helen, resuming her story. "They were going to send word to my mother because I was so young, and I escaped from the hospital and went over into Canada. For three days I lived in a little shanty with an old woman and had only a few crusts to eat.

"Then I found work again with a show and finally got to New York. I had a furnished room in East Fourteenth Street, and there I met a lot of queer people. I got a job during the summer in a restaurant in Coney Island. They saw I could make change good, and part of the time they put me behind the bar to take the cash. I could have run off with three or four hundred dollars if I had wanted to, for they trusted me so much. But I never would steal, that you can depend upon. And then I started into this life.

"You know," she said after a pause, "sometimes I get so

blue—just thinking,” and a far-away wistful look came into her eyes. She seemed to be living again in her old hopes and ambitions, and then suddenly to awaken to the realization of her present life. She arose from the cot in her narrow cell, drew forth a postal card from her bag and handed it to me. “This came to me just yesterday,” she said. I saw the picture of a girl with her head bent down weeping, and in the bright radiance in the background an angel pointing the way. I read the words printed below:

“I was not ever thus, nor prayed that thou
Shouldst lead me on;
I loved to choose and see my path; but now
Lead thou me on!”

Beneath the painted cheeks and blackened eyebrows of the prostitute, there shone the soul of the woman.

An investigation proved that Helen's story as to her method of release from the reformatory was true. The paper asking for her discharge had been signed by the committing magistrate. A man, whose name was not recorded at the institution, but whose description corresponded with that of the hotel manager, had presented the paper and taken the girl away with him. Although the judge had not power to release her, the institution was unwilling to refuse the magistrate's request. No court process had been invoked—either appeal or *habeas corpus* writ. It was also true that the manager of a disorderly hotel had collected the money from Helen's friends, and that no lawyer had been employed.

When the next evening in Night Court, the judge looked at the copy of the discharge signed by a fellow-magistrate, heard from Helen the full story of her release and her earnest plea for mercy, he gave her the one more chance which she craved.

One revelation followed another as to illegal releases by magistrates. An affidavit from Sophie Bergman, taken in the District Attorney's office, showed the method of her discharge

from Bedford. Although several days had elapsed between the day of commitment and discharge, the reformatory had not even been notified that she had been committed to that institution. Other commitment papers showed that girls had been sent to prison or workhouse and released after two or three days or a week. Although the papers read, "On Probation," the probation officer had never been notified.

Exposure of such illegal practices in discharging women, helped to cause the dismissal of one magistrate, and to secure many desirable reforms in the courts. And a person who was partly responsible for these changes was a clever woman of the streets.

As we learn to know these girls, the so-called "women of the streets," and try as best we can to help them, we understand more completely the terrible grip which the life has upon them. More insidious and deadly than any physical bondage is this moral servitude. They have partly or wholly surrendered their powers of will and of self-control, and are no longer masters of themselves. They hate the life, they despise it, yet they cling to it. They are enslaved by the first large earnings of prostitution, by constant association with evil-minded and vicious people, by drink and drugs, by the power of traffickers and men who live on their earnings of vice, and by the life itself.

The chronic prostitute, or the "old-timer," as she is known to the other girls, has given up all hope of escape. She is bound as truly by fetters as though it were a physical servitude, and her mind cannot reach beyond, to a point where she is truly free. She remembers a time when she might have changed her course, but that moment has passed and the door has been forever closed. The life has become a habit to her, and seeing and knowing the consequence of it, she keeps on, not caring whither she goes. She is so far removed from work and the possibilities of a good life that it seems utterly impossible for her to return to any honest employment. She is confident that the hand of

society is raised against her, and she cannot believe that there is anyone in the world who, from an unselfish motive, really wishes to help her. She is accustomed only to be preyed upon, and conscious of the fact that she is an outlaw, she is an easy victim. Without question, she gives her money to a man who lives on her earnings and continues the degrading association in spite of recognizing her enslavement through it. Knowing its horror and wretchedness, she hates the life. Always there is a spirit of unrest and of fear, and if she drowns herself in drink and drugs, it is merely to forget.

The newcomer to prostitution, frequently a runaway girl, has not sufficient will-power to abandon the life voluntarily; but when checked by arrest and forced to face the question, she is willing to leave it. Her mind is not yet poisoned, and she still has moral perception to see that it is degrading to her. She has not paused to consider what was before her; she has simply been drifting and has been carried down stream with the tide. She can hardly tell why she is in the life and often she does not know the real reason. Frequently she has been deserted by a man who promised to marry her, and has been turned from home when it was discovered that she was to give birth to a child. Stories told by older prostitutes of the ease and large earnings appealed to her at a time when she was without money and lacked the ability to earn it. At times she has fallen into the hands of a procurer, and according to the degree in which she has yielded herself to her master the breaking down of character has been more or less rapid. She has had urgings of conscience, but at no time has the voice been sufficiently loud to cause her to abandon the life permanently. In spite of efforts of older prostitutes to allay her fears, she is thoroughly frightened by the arrest and imagines that very dreadful things may happen. She is willing to return to honest work as soon as she is able to do so. With help in finding a way out of the wretched life to which alone she could not find a clue, she sees little by little that life holds something for her. She is not too far re-

moved from good influences to be appealed to through fondness for her mother or her unborn child, or through regard for her religion which at some time has been a potent factor in her life. There is the problem of strengthening will-power and making life seem worth while.

The girl of the call flat has often been more prosperous, and her attitude toward the life causes her to be less degraded by it. She comes from a better home than the majority of girls in prostitution, has more education, and is usually more attractive. She has not such continuous demands upon her as have young women living in the more usual type of disorderly resorts. To a certain extent she is able to exercise choice in her patrons, and at times has a select *clientèle* of successful business and professional men. Her prices are very much higher, but her expenses are greater. She considers herself in an entirely different class from those plying their trade on the public thoroughfare and sternly resents being classed with prostitutes. Having her mind less completely occupied with base thoughts and retaining to a greater degree her self-respect, prostitution is less demoralizing to her. She considers that she holds within her grasp all the time, the possibility of escape. She looks upon her condition as temporary and expects soon to change it. Others in her position or in the ranks of "kept" women have suddenly married wealthy men and forsaken prostitution, and she expects to do likewise. Occasionally a girl has gone to a call flat to eke out her wages in store or office, and has made only a few appointments. Again, it has been to obtain better clothes and more exciting recreation, or to satisfy her desire for indulgence in a life of idleness. She considers it impossible to give up the large earnings of prostitution and the accustomed luxuries. Yet if an opportunity for a wholesome life appears without demanding too great sacrifice, the girl of the call flat has a chance to free herself.

The runaway girl is usually on the way to prostitution. She has taken one or two missteps and finds it easier to take the

next. Under pressure of conditions at home, with discouragement and unhappiness, she throws all to the winds and plunges ahead into the dark. She sees nothing but her own troubles; she is reckless and does not care what happens. There is an element of curiosity in it too. Somewhere just a little further on, when free from the bonds of home and parents, she vaguely expects a world of happiness. In the blindness of ignorance or love, she takes the first step, and then discovers that the sentence passed upon her by society is so severe that it is hard for her to return. The attitude of her family and condemnation of society tend to crush her and to send her further down. Her parents do not see that anything worse can happen to her than that she should have sacrificed her virtue; they do not realize what depths of degradation are possible for her through prostitution. Without considering whether or not she will be improved in character or more embittered by the experience, in order to "teach her a lesson" or to "put her where she will be safe," they insist upon having her committed to a reformatory.

+ The life of a girl in a parlor house serves to enslave many of its inmates completely. Frequently a girl is brought to the house by a trafficker who uses these resorts as a regular market for his trade. If she has tried to break away from her master when sent to the streets to solicit, this means is taken of bringing her under control. In the parlor house she is under strict surveillance; occasionally she is a prisoner. She is seldom free to come and go as she chooses, at least not until she is so "broken in" that she can be completely trusted.

✓ The vicious debt system employed in parlor houses is a means of keeping a hold upon the girl. Every effort is made to involve her in debt so that she cannot feel free to leave. The madame retains all of the girl's earnings, and as a receipt punches a card or gives her a brass check each time she receives a patron. According to the prices charged, the check may represent fifty cents or one, two or three dollars. But the girl gets a very small proportion of this. Against the account of her

earnings are charged her various expenses. After there is deducted either the price of board or one-half of all her receipts as the share of the house, a sum or percentage for the man who brought her there, protection money for the police and the cost of clothes, there is little or nothing left for the girl herself. Constant opportunities to buy drink, clothing, and cheap jewelry, cause her to spend whatever little surplus there might be, even before it is earned.

There are few opportunities for the parlor-house girl to abandon the life. As she goes from one city to another, entering an isolated resort or a "red light" district, there is seldom any effort made to help her to leave prostitution. Failure to enforce laws in many cities against keepers of houses or inmates prevents escape through legal process. Even when resorts are raided, in cities adopting a policy of law enforcement, either inmates are not arrested or are immediately discharged. With inhuman physical demands upon the parlor-house girl, constant companionship of evil-minded men and women, and frequent resort to drink and drugs to keep up courage and spirit for the wretched life, callings from her own inner conscience become fainter each day and demoralization of character more complete.

Like the girl of the parlor house and the hardened offender, the clever woman of the streets is often completely bound to the life of prostitution. Her superior intelligence does not prevent her from becoming enslaved. As the result of her cleverness, she is frequently more completely demoralized. She observes opportunities for exploitation and gain which do not appear to others and uses her cunning to take advantage of them. To increase their earnings, some clever girls resort to blackmailing men whom they have met on the streets or with whom they have been associated as "mistresses"; others devise schemes for getting their patrons intoxicated and robbing them.

On the other hand, we find a girl to whom such practices are utterly revolting and who employs her cleverness in an entirely

different way. She may be indignant against the system by which men procure young girls for prostitution and live on the earnings of women, and give evidence to help in abating the evil. She may take personal risks for the sake of aiding the runaway girl or the newcomer to free herself from a procurer and to return to an honest life. She may be willing to suffer the contempt of her associates and to endure the reputation of being a "squealer" for the sake of exposing a vicious system by which women of the underworld are exploited—methods of police grafting, complicity of lawyers with police, even unlawful practices of judges.

The clever woman of the streets takes pride in trying to escape the consequences of her wrongdoing and in avoiding arrest. For this reason, while in the possession of her full powers, she is seldom found in the courts. She boasts that she will never be so foolish as to go down through disease and drink and drugs; yet we see the change coming. She is less attractive in appearance and personality, less clear in perception, and less concerned about what becomes of her. She believes that she is being pursued, and at each step, nervously looks behind her. She tells marvellous stories about herself, which are neither true nor the product of her once vivid imagination. We realize that her hallucinations are the result of a drug, and that she is in the grip of opium or cocaine. We are not then surprised to learn later that she has been sent to an insane asylum or that she has committed suicide.

This breaking down of character, however, is usually a slow, gradual process. One step follows another with no idea where the way will ultimately lead. When the first immoral step was taken, there was no thought that it was in the direction of prostitution. When once on the way, each girl believed that she could turn back whenever she wished. Often she looked upon her position as merely temporary and expected soon to change it. She was not conscious that little by little, the life was getting a firmer grip upon her and that release was becoming in-

creasingly difficult. No hard and fast line separates one stage from another; a girl slips from one to the other with an ease depending upon her environment and qualities of character. Unless something checks the progress, the newcomer to prostitution or even the runaway girl will inevitably become the hardened offender.

With these girls at different stages of the way, we are surprised to find so many splendid qualities of character. As we touch the deeper springs of the girl's being, we frequently find generosity, compassionate love, and heroic self-sacrifice. In spite of the surface veneer of hardness and recklessness, she has often within her a warmth of affection and longing for a better life. A close knowledge of these girls has shown me that they were not, as we have sometimes been led to believe, a different order of beings, but that they were like other young women whom I had known. They had the same hopes, ambitions, emotions and longings. When appeal was made to the highest and best that was in them, they responded in the same simple, earnest way. Like all of us, they had potentialities both for good and for evil; but instead of meeting forces for strengthening and upbuilding character, they had come in contact with vicious influences. Yet in each soul there remained the divine spark, which if not too hidden or dimmed could be fanned into flame.

Every influence seems to combine, however, to prevent the escape of the girl and to assist in the breaking-down process. The severe condemnation of society only degrades her further. She finds herself cut off by her friends and family; through being constantly deceived, she loses faith in human nature; she loses respect even for herself; she loses absolutely her faith in a God. What wonder that life becomes meaningless to her—that she cares not whether she lives or dies! What wonder that she seeks to end it all in suicide! Her moral vision has become blurred, her conscience dulled, her character demoralized. This demoralization of character constitutes the real slavery of prostitution.

In giving publicity to this sordid fact that girls were being demoralized through prostitution, the Night Court has performed genuine service. More important than granting immediate trial to offenders and freeing them from the evil of professional bondsmen; of greater moment than improving methods for helping individuals, has been the service of the Night Court in showing the public a long procession of girls bound to a life of prostitution, and in helping to awaken the conscience of society to its responsibility for their emancipation.

CHAPTER II

WHO ARE THE GIRLS? PERSONAL FACTORS

As we watch these unfortunate girls and women passing before the judge in the Night Court or standing behind bars in the gloomy cells in the prison, we question: Who are they? Whence have they come? Why are they leading lives of shame? In order to answer these questions, a study has been made of all available information about 1000 girls whom I have known personally during the last nine years.

The most conspicuous fact is that the girl in prostitution has been unprotected. She has come from a small country town or rural district, from crowded tenement homes in the city and from distant foreign lands. Her home has failed not only to protect her, but to develop in her that strength of character by which she might protect herself. Frequently because of retardation in mental development, she has needed special care. With little opportunity for education, she has gone out to work at an early age; and without plan or purpose, drifted from one low-grade occupation to another, earning barely a living wage. For her recreation, she has turned to the street, and later to the dance hall. There she has met evil associates and has come in contact with demoralizing influences. In a strange city all social control, even the good opinion of neighbors, has frequently been withdrawn. She has offered but feeble resistance to temptations pressing hard upon her. Moral ideals have been lacking, or familiarity with vice has broken down barriers of virtue and drawn her easily into immorality. As the result of many personal and environmental factors, she finds herself while still a girl of sixteen or seventeen years of age, in a life of prostitution. Society, as well as the home, has failed to shield her from moral dangers.

BIRTHPLACE AND PARENTAGE

Even a casual onlooker observes that a majority of the girls are foreign in appearance. Of the group of 1000 only one-fifth had been born in America of American parents. Over three-fifths were of foreign parentage. The rest had one native and one foreign parent or were ignorant of the birthplace of their parents.

The girls of native-born parents had come principally from poor homes in small towns and rural communities in different parts of the United States. Some had come to "see New York" or to find work in the large city; a few had joined theatrical companies or circus troupes passing through small towns; others had sought to hide their disgrace when deserted by men who had promised to marry them or when turned from home by their parents; a number had been induced by travelling salesmen, procurers or other men whom they had met at hotels or at railroad stations, to come to New York.

One of the girls who came from a far-away rural district was sixteen-year-old Annette Curtis. "I sold my cow to come," she said in her Southern accent, as she told of leaving her home in the Tennessee mountains. She had answered a personal in a newspaper and had thought it would be wonderful to visit New York and marry the man who had sent his photograph and written her "real love letters." It had been her dream to be married, but "there was no nice young man" in that mountain country. She walked ten miles over rough roads to the nearest station, purchased her ticket with forty dollars from the sale of her cow, and waited for the ticket-agent to "flag the train." It was a long way from that cabin home in Tennessee to the glittering lights of Broadway and dark-towered Jefferson Market Court, yet Annette had travelled the entire path before the close of a year. She had found the man waiting for her at the ferry, wearing a red carnation as he had promised. He took her at once to a small New Jersey town to be married, and then brought

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her to New York. In less than two weeks this child-wife found herself deserted, penniless, and alone in a strange city. She reported the disappearance of her husband to the police and told her sad story in court; but as she had no clue to his whereabouts, he could not be found. Relief came temporarily from persons who read her story in the newspapers and from reporters "looking for copy." Annette's diligent search for work through answering many advertisements, was rewarded by an offer of a position as waitress in the restaurant of a department store. Unusual and erratic, with a nasal tone in her voice which betrayed her mountain rearing, she did not fit in well with the new environment. Her manner of staring at passers-by attracted attention and caused her to be addressed frequently by men on the street. She did not question this at first, but soon discovered its meaning. They had taken her for a woman of the streets, and she learned how these women made money. Within a few weeks, Annette was accosting men and earning money by prostitution. Several times men took her to dinner or to a café, gave her money, and advised her to go home as she was too young to be on the streets. Not, however, until she was arrested and arraigned in the Night Court was her true story learned. The man who had induced her to come from Tennessee had only pretended to marry her. Annette hesitated about returning to her home. She was almost deterred by the inevitable beating from her father, but when she remembered the wild free life of the hills where she rode on her own horse for miles "way up where the moonshiners make whiskey in the gullies of the mountains," she turned willingly from the bright lights of the city to her simple mountain home.

In addition to country girls of native parents, was a large number of American-born girls of foreign parents, nearly one-third of the entire group. The wreckage among them is partly explained by the wide gap between parents and children born in countries whose customs, conditions and ideals are widely different. The foreign mother finds it difficult to understand and con-

trol her children under strange new conditions. When parents do not even speak the language of the children, the chasm is widened. At an early age, children feel superior to their parents, fail to have reverence or respect for them, and assert that spirit of independence which they consider an American right. The father often regards his child as a chattel to deal with as he wishes, saying, "She is mine; I beat her all I want." Many foreign parents rely on force to control their children. They declare that "in spite of locking the girl in and taking away her street clothes," when she threatened to run away, she accomplished her purpose, and "even with all the beatings, turned out bad." A father, believing he has exhausted every means of discipline, pathetically bewails his helplessness: "What shall I do?" he says. "She go where she please and stay out where she like and I can't do mit her noting."

Foreign parents know little about the lives of their children and are easily deceived by them. They have no idea where the girls work, what kind of work they do, who their companions are, or where they go for amusement. When we are trying to trace girls who have run away from home, parents can only tell us that they worked in "Grand Street," "West Broadway," "uptown" or "de shop." They have been satisfied with receiving the pay envelope each week and have asked no questions. If a girl stays away from work or says she is doing night work, when in reality she is soliciting on the streets, she may arouse no suspicion for a time. Parents frequently believe that daughters, who are in reality living with procurers, are married, and in proof argue that the girl "showed a marriage ring," "said she was married," or "brought her man to the house." They had not seen a certificate of marriage nor been present at the ceremony, but without question had accepted the daughter's word.

Immigrant girls, one-third of all, had come from nearly every European country—the largest numbers from Russia, Austro-Hungary, Germany, Italy and England. Many had been liv-

ing with their families or relatives in America, but some were adrift without anyone in the country to whom they felt even distantly responsible. Girls who had come to join an aunt, cousin, or married sister, had frequently remained with them only a few weeks or months, until they were settled in their positions or until they had quarrelled with an uncle or a brother-in-law and had been told to pack their things and go. Often their relatives are poor and cannot afford to keep them while out of work. We find others quickly acquiring an independent spirit in America and refusing to be "bossed" by relatives. Girls alone in the city or country feel a freedom from restraint which makes it easy to enter an immoral life. They have often said to me in telling of the beginning of their trouble, "I thought nobody would know." Young alien women are more easily exploited because of ignorance of American customs, language, and agencies to which they might turn for help. They do not know that dangers lurk in dance halls and other recreation places that cater to their love of pleasure. They even believe the procurer who tells them that a license is a marriage certificate. They are cowed by threats of deportation.

Many foreign girls in this group had been immoral before coming to America, but comparatively few had been leading a life of prostitution. Several had been sent by parents because they were wayward in Europe, and others had come to escape disgrace in their small European villages or to join men who promised marriage. In one instance, but only one, it was discovered that a father had sent his daughter to America for immoral purposes. Another young woman, induced to come with her very young baby from Austria, was allowed to enter the country after marrying the father of her child. For a few months the man worked to support her and then sent her to solicit on the streets.

It is surprising to find among these young women any Italian or Hebrew girls. Italian mothers have held the love and devotion of their daughters and guarded them carefully and well.

Strict observance of religious duties has been required, and religious influence has been a vital force in their lives. But Italian homes in America have been poor and crowded; children have been pressed out into industry at an early age, and poverty of homes in Italy has been so great that mothers have consented to let their daughters come to America to join relatives or to marry. As a result of these various influences, moral hold has been relaxed and girls have begun to break away.

It is comparatively a new phenomenon in the life of the Hebrew people to have any of its daughters in prostitution. The moral standards of Jewish women have been high. Less than a generation ago, it was rare in New York City for a Jewish girl to be living a life of prostitution. Now many are entering the life. The causes for this change lie deep in economic and social conditions and in the loss on the part of the children of that religious faith which has been the fortress of their fathers. Although parents remain orthodox, many children, brought up under American conditions, have virtually forsaken the faith. Girls feel that religion is not for them, and if they enter the synagogue on one day in the year, they sit in the gallery and have no part in the worship. One of the many young women who keeps fasts and observes ceremonies for the sake of her parents, said: "It's only for my mother's sake, and when she's gone I won't do it no more." Bringing with them the rites of their religion as observed in Russia and Austria, Jewish immigrants have found that their religion did not thrive well on American soil; that press of American life caused many of them to give up their ceremonies, forsake their Sabbath and abandon religious instruction of children. Comparatively few have received religious training for any period of time. A number had studied Hebrew, but had abandoned it before they had opportunity to learn any religious or moral truth. Living in most crowded districts, with the burden of economic pressure upon them, these children of Israel have almost lost that spiritual basis of life which has been their very birthright.

AGE AND EDUCATION

Prostitution demands youth for its trade. From year to year we see that the girls are constantly changing, yet they always appear young. When questioned, over one-half of this group of 1000 were found to be between sixteen and twenty-one. According to their own statements, a larger number than at any other age had taken the first immoral step when sixteen years old; one-third had entered prostitution between the ages of sixteen and eighteen. Among those who had been "bad" ever since they could remember were girls who had indulged in immoral practices in crowded tenement districts, in moving picture theatres, and in hallways of tenement houses. When only twelve and thirteen years old, they had received as payment twenty-five cents for candy or hair-ribbons, or tickets of admission to moving picture theatres. Before knowing the meaning of morality or immorality, they had sacrificed their virtue.

The lack of education of a large number of these girls in prostitution indicates the group from which they have come. They have been obliged to go to work when young and have had little opportunity for education. Thirty-two had never been to school, 50 could not read or write any language, 40 had knowledge only of a foreign language and many could read and write but little. More than half had left school before finishing grammar grades, and only five per cent. had entered high school. Four girls had taken courses in normal schools or small colleges. Others had attended convents, private schools, country schools and orphanages, and two said in a stinging tone, that they had always had to go to "soup schools." Sixteen had entered business schools to prepare for clerical work, and eight had taken courses in dressmaking or millinery in technical or trade schools.

OCCUPATIONS AND WAGES

Recruits to the ranks of prostitution are from the class of unskilled, low-paid workers. Most of the girls had entered in-

dustry at the age of fourteen or before, and many foreign girls had worked since they were little children. Only 65, some of whom were still in school, had no occupation before entering prostitution.

Over fifty per cent. were engaged in factory or household work, an equal number in each; others had worked in stores, restaurants, offices, and a wide variety of occupations. Comparing the percentages of these prostitutes who had been in different kinds of work with the percentage of women wage earners in these same occupations in the general population of New York City, according to the Census of 1910, we find that servants, waitresses, saleswomen, clerks in stores, and theatrical workers, contribute more than their quota to prostitution; that factory employees and telephone operators contribute almost exactly the percentage we should expect; and that clerical workers, bookkeepers, stenographers, dressmakers, and milliners contribute less than their share. It is significant that all the occupations contributing less than their quota require skill and preparation for work.

Wages received by girls before entering prostitution were for the most part low. When a high wage was paid, usually work was irregular or seasonal and did not yield steadily the larger income. Some could not remember the amount of their wages; a number of domestics had earned only board and clothes; others, including midwives and fortune-tellers, were unable because of irregularity of employment, to estimate their income. Altogether we were successful in learning the wages of 584 girls. The average wage of 170 domestic servants, exclusive of board and lodging, was \$3.69 a week. Seven untrained nurses and hospital attendants were paid an average weekly wage of \$5.35. Wages of 354 girls employed in factories, laundries, stores, offices and telephone exchanges, averaged \$6.35. Sixty-five per cent. of the factory workers had received \$6 a week or less. The wages of employees in stores ranged from \$3 and \$4 a week, paid to cash girls and bundle girls, to \$12 a week for demon-

strators. Thirty-one theatrical and other professional workers whose wages were comparable, received from \$6 to \$65 a week.

In sharp contrast to low wages in factory, store and office, are the larger amounts received after entering prostitution. It is exceedingly difficult for girls to estimate accurately their earnings from immorality, varying widely as they do for different days and weeks and months. According to their statements, the average maximum weekly earnings of 197 girls were \$52; the minimum earnings of 186 girls were \$20 a week. A few girls had been paid \$50, \$100, or \$150 at a time; one had received \$200 in a single night. A girl who had earned \$4.50 a week in a factory, received \$35 or \$40 Saturday nights on the streets; a singer in a moving picture theatre, whose wages had been \$6 a week, earned by prostitution in a call-flat \$150 a week. Few had saved any of their large earnings; two Russian girls who had \$1200 and \$3000 "on the bank" were rare exceptions.

REASONS ASSIGNED FOR IMMORALITY AND PROSTITUTION

Reasons for taking the first immoral step were given by 471 girls. Three hundred and four, or 64 per cent., claimed to have been seduced or forced. Of these, 102 said that they had been seduced under promise of marriage; 63 by lovers, 26 by procurers, employers, or in their places of work; and 93 said that they had been forced, assaulted, or drugged. Seventy-nine blamed conditions within the home and pointed to lack of moral training, uncongeniality at home, and actively vicious influences there. Several girls, unhappy with their husbands or deserted by them, had turned to other men. Forty-eight were led into immorality through dance halls, drink or older prostitutes. Personal reasons, given by 22, included the following: "Incorrigible and wild," "foolish," "lonesome and discouraged," "curiosity," "infatuation," "flirtation." Eighteen girls assigned an economic cause, and said it was "for money" or that they were "in want and the man promised marriage."

Reasons for entering prostitution are more complex than for

taking the first immoral step. Except where two or three conditions have been named as equally important, the factor considered chiefly responsible has been taken. Although these statements cannot be taken as absolute truth, they are indicative of the truth and point to factors responsible for the breaking down of character. Girls have made no effort to lessen their own wrongdoing or guilt, and after giving various reasons, have frequently added: "But it's my own fault. No one could have made me do it." A summary of the principal causal factors assigned by these young women included:

Influence of procurers	256 or 25.6 per cent.
Conditions at home	210 or 21.0 per cent.
Amusement and bad companions . . .	187 or 18.7 per cent.
Personal reasons	177 or 17.7 per cent.
Economic or occupational factors . . .	170 or 17.0 per cent.

Fifty-one of the 256 girls who declared that their entrance into prostitution was due to procurers, claimed that their husbands had induced or forced them to enter the life. Thirty-three gave as secondary reasons, dance halls, drink, bad companions, economic influence, lack of home, or desertion by father of child.

Of 210 who charged influences in the home as chiefly responsible, 35 attributed it to immorality or prostitution of mothers; 28 to quarrels at home; 23 to uncongeniality at home; and others to abuse, starvation, over-strictness, lack of having a home or to institutional life, influence of father or stepfather in placing them in prostitution, lack of moral training at home, boarders in the home, or to the fact that they were turned out from home when pregnant.

Reasons given by 187 young women were associated with amusement places or the influence of bad companions, including dance halls and drink, associates in work, and older prostitutes. Many claimed to have met bad companions in amusement parks, moving picture theatres, and dance halls.

Among 177 assigning personal reasons, 56 said they had been deserted by men who promised marriage or by fathers of their illegitimate children; 21 desired "easy money" or "fine clothes"; 10 claimed "love of excitement and good times"; 10 were regardless of their fate after being "ruined." Some had been flattered by men or infatuated with them, were "desperate and discouraged," "tired of hard work," "out of the habit of work," "ill and unable to work," or "stupid and slow in working." Others told of their "desire for independence," "bad tempers," "wild dispositions," "weak wills," "passionate natures," or said that they "did not realize it was wrong," that they could "see no harm in it," or that they "could not help it."

Sixty-six of 170 girls mentioning economic factors as the chief cause, gave lack of work as the reason; 23, lack of money for food and room-rent; 23, necessity of supporting a child or mother, and 19 said that it was due to low wage. Others told of inability to find employment, of irregular work, and of lack of knowledge of any trade.

COMBINATION OF CAUSAL FACTORS

When seeking to determine conditions responsible for bringing girls into prostitution we find that many factors have been united in the case of each individual. Frequently they are so complicated and interwoven that it is impossible to find which has been the determining factor. No one condition has been solely responsible, but a combination of circumstances and characteristics has made the path to prostitution easy. Young women upon whom has fallen the greatest pressure, have been by heredity and training least able to resist temptations and have had fewest safeguards about them.

The combination of many influences may be seen from the story of a young girl, Dorothy King. Left orphaned by her actress mother and an unknown father, Dorothy was placed by a court in Pennsylvania in the care of a society for protecting children. While working as a little household drudge in the

home of foster-parents, this pretty, over-developed, untrained and weak-willed girl was seduced, at the age of fourteen, by the eldest son in the family. The society responsible for the erring girl, sent her to a reformatory in New York State. There she rebelled against the rigid discipline of the religious institution, was distressed with the monotony of life, and in utter despair, attempted suicide. The attempt, though unsuccessful, accomplished the thing Dorothy chiefly desired—it freed her from the institution. Again the society exercised spasmodic supervision over her and sought "to keep her at housework." She was flattered by the pretended love of a man whom she had considered a protector, and believed that after her first experience, nothing mattered. Fearing that she was to give birth to a child, she came with him to New York, entered a cheap boarding-house, and after his departure, lived on the small allowance he provided. When it occurred to her to add to this income by working, she could only think of that household drudgery from which she had happily escaped. She had no trade. Again she thought of suicide, but recollection of her previous attempt restrained her. A woman to whom she confided her thoughts and fears, sought to revive her depressed spirit by taking her to "swell" hotels for luncheon and offering to share a fine apartment with her. Dorothy gratefully accepted. She soon discovered, however, that her new-found friend was blackmailing her lover, that the place was a "call-flat," and the keeper a procuress. For two or three weeks Dorothy lived the life of a prostitute. Information given by the superintendent of the reformatory regarding the unreliability of Dorothy's statements and her attempt to commit suicide, resulted in failure of our efforts to prosecute the procuress. The society, as guardian of the girl, still under age, once more assumed control and committed Dorothy to an institution for the feeble-minded.

Among the factors helping to explain Dorothy's delinquency were her own weakness of will and mental instability and deficiency, lack of home influence, failure of foster-parents, insti-

tution, and aid society to safeguard her and to give her training by which she could earn her living, the unmanly acts of men who should have protected a defenseless girl, and the insidious influence of a procuress who wilfully exploited her. Although the act of the procuress was the direct occasion of entrance into professional immorality, her betrayal by a foster-brother and later, by a man who left her unprotected in a strange city, made possible her entrance upon the revolting life. In her spirit of depression and carelessness, it was but a step from immoral living to prostitution.

A more critical study of the constantly recurring factors will enable us to understand better the conditions which tend to break down character in young girls and women.

PERSONAL FACTORS

The prostitute, as we know her in courts and prisons, is often lazy, weak-willed, stubborn, reckless, fond of ease and excitement, depressed or hysterical, with impaired physical and mental ability. She is seldom energetic, resolute, alert, self-reliant, physically sound, and mentally keen. Much of her physical, mental, and moral inertia has been the product of her life of debauchery with its certain toll of venereal disease, enervation through drink and habit-forming drugs, and progressive demoralization of character. On the other hand, many unfortunate personal characteristics, observable during childhood or adolescence by parents, teachers or employers, have facilitated her entrance into immorality. Explanation of these characteristics is most frequently found in retarded mental development or congenital mental deficiency. Lacking a protected environment and proper self-control, these weak-willed, lazy, stubborn, mentally deficient girls have fallen prey to exploiters and entered easily upon an immoral life. They are not prostitutes by nature or by heredity, but they are feeble-minded. The failure of society to erect sufficient safeguards about them has caused them to drift into vice.

MENTAL DEFICIENCY

A study of young women in prostitution shows that mental deficiency is an important factor in delinquency.⁷ Thirty-four per cent., or approximately one-third of 577 delinquent young women at Waverley House were so retarded in mental development as to be considered feeble-minded, and others were mentally retarded enough to need protection and oversight. Close knowledge of the individual girls convinces us that their deficiency has facilitated their entrance into prostitution. Among a large number whose feeble-mindedness partly explained their exploitation through prostitution, were two mentally deficient girls, Catherine Westcott and Yetta Rosen. Neither effectually resisted the power of a procurer who bigamously married both of them for the sake of gaining complete control.

Catherine was sixteen years old when her mother died, leaving her in care of a shiftless father. The father's stupidity was shown by his ignorance of the ages and order of birth of his children, and his failure to remember about two who had died in infancy. His only knowledge of his family was that three brothers had met violent deaths and that his parents had "just died." One of Catherine's younger brothers was described as "thick-headed"; and a sister, eleven years old, was "slow in school" and had most vulgar sex knowledge. Within a week after his wife's death, the father had put the younger children in orphan asylums, had told the oldest boy to leave home because he had no work or money for board, and had turned Catherine out of the house. Catherine drifted from one place of work to another in an irresponsible manner and, at twenty-one years of age, became a tool in the hands of her procurer-husband, soliciting for him on the streets and serving as his accomplice in stealing. She had married him in spite of knowing that he had married her friend Yetta two or three years before. A physical examination proved that Catherine was suffering from syphilis, and a mental examination showed that she had

the intelligence of a nine-year-old child, and was "slow, dull, stupid, gross and careless."

Yetta's deficient mentality made it easy for her husband to draw her, also, into association with criminal and dissolute people and into a life of immorality. Nothing in her training or environment held her back. The history of Yetta's family was a long story of dependency, shiftlessness and feeble-mindedness. Her maternal grandfather had come to America from Hungary at the age of forty-five, after the death of his third wife. Among five pairs of twins, born in Hungary, was Yetta's mother, who was committed to an insane asylum, soon after her marriage in America. After arriving in the United States, the grandfather promptly put his three youngest children in an orphan asylum, became a regular pensioner of a charitable society, and within five years married a feeble-minded woman. Of five children to whom this fourth wife gave birth, one had been three terms in the first grade in school, another had remained twelve terms in a special ungraded class, and the third had been for ten years an inmate of a state institution for the feeble-minded. Those familiar with the sight of this old man as he stood peddling shoe strings on a street corner or appealing pathetically for funds to support his family, have little understanding of the burden laid upon the city and state by this mentally deficient immigrant and his feeble-minded offspring.

The atmosphere in which Yetta spent her early childhood was charged with poverty, dependence and mental unrest. From five to seven years old, she was in two different charitable institutions. At the age of eight, when her mother was taken away to an insane asylum, she lived with her aunt who was "eccentric, unreasonable, domineering, spiteful and mercenary," and dependent on charity for support. Yetta had a poor record at school, and when she left at the age of fourteen to go to work had reached only the fifth grade. She was known in the neighborhood where she lived as "wild, uncontrollable, lazy, bad and

immoral." At nineteen she married a man whose mother was a dissolute woman and whose father was an ex-convict. Frequent quarrels with her husband arose because of his insistence on her taking part in robbing men, induced from the streets for the purpose of prostitution, and later because of his marriage to Catherine. Yetta was willing to give evidence against him, as the result of which he was sentenced to two years in Sing Sing. Yetta's mental diagnosis showed "mental enfeeblement resulting from a syphilitic infection and from dissolute living, following retardation of mental development at puberty."

Recognition that both Yetta and Catherine were in need of permanent custodial care led to their commitment to an institution for the feeble-minded. At twenty-one years of age, after mental deficiency had brought them to a wretched life of debauchery and prostitution, action was taken, which, coming several years before, would have saved them from their lives of shame. These girls are but typical of many others whose deficient mentality has made them adopt more readily a life of professional prostitution.

HEREDITY

Explanation of the mental deficiency of these wayward girls which has predisposed them to prostitution, is usually found in bad inheritance. At times, prenatal influences or illness during their development, have been sufficient to account for their deficiency. Drunkenness, disease, prostitution, insanity and feeble-mindedness of parents partly explain the weakened will-power, constitutional inferiority, and mental deficiency of their children. In two hundred and forty-seven of the group of one thousand families, there was known to be present some actively vicious element or clearly recognized degenerate strain. Complete investigations, reaching back into the homes of all of these girls in other cities and countries, would doubtless have caused this number to be much higher. Occasionally in the

same family two or more wretched conditions were found. One feeble-minded girl had a prostitute mother and a criminal father, who in a drunken debauch had killed his wife. A drunken father and a feeble-minded mother, both of whom were grossly immoral, were partly responsible for the mental deficiency and degeneracy of their two prostitute daughters. The mother, who had left her husband because of his abuse and drunkenness, supported by her earnings of prostitution a procurer who had induced her fifteen-year-old daughter to enter an immoral resort in New York City.

A feeble-minded girl, Esther Edwards, was found to be one of thirteen illegitimate children to whom her mentally deficient mother had given birth. The only thing which Esther could remember was that before she was brought to a county poor-house, at the age of seven, she had been taunted because of her illegitimacy. When about to be shipped with a carload of orphan children to the West, she succeeded in escaping from the home and losing herself in the big city. She associated with criminals and drug fiends and quickly entered a life of prostitution. I saw her first in Night Court when she had been sentenced to six months in the workhouse on Blackwell's Island. She declared she was entirely satisfied with her life, yet showed great bitterness against society. After her term in prison, she returned to the streets still more embittered. In a short time she became known on the Bowery and in Chinatown where she went to smoke opium, as the "meal ticket" of "Texas Frank," a thief and "strong arm man." That meant that she supported him by her earnings of prostitution. Esther suffered his beatings and kicks, and boasted that she could fight and kick in return. Not until two years later, when she went to the psychopathic ward at Bellevue Hospital, did she give a clue which led to locating her mother. We found drunkenness and immorality in the home of the irresponsible woman, learned that a daughter of sixteen was under sentence for larceny, and discovered that all the children were illegitimate. Esther's alliance with most vi-

cious criminal gangs and her entrance upon professional immorality was a natural outcome of her mental deficiency, transmitted from her immoral and feeble-minded mother.

The mental deficiency of another girl, Elise, was unquestionably due to her inheritance from a tubercular mother and a drunken, immoral father who came from a degenerate family of "worthless" alcoholics. Elise could only remember the pale face of her patient mother who had been cursed and brutally treated by the cruel father. When Elise, the youngest of sixteen children, was between five and six years old, the mother, "worn out with hard work and bearing children," died of tuberculosis. The mother's life in a remote part of Canada had always been very hard. She had married when fifteen years old, and for long periods of time had been obliged to support the constantly increasing family "by going out washing six days a week at fifty cents a day." Otherwise she would have had no food for the children during the drunken debauches of their father, when he deserted the home for several months. None of the children went regularly to school; either they had not suitable clothing or they followed the mother long distances to work for the purpose of getting food. In the locality where they lived, they were known as "ragged and lawless hoodlums." As a child, Elise had gone with her father to the crowded logging camps where French Canadians lived promiscuously with half-breed Indians. She was familiar with the sight of her old grandfather, a wood chopper, stretched out on the ground, "hopelessly drunk." She knew of his bad reputation and had heard that her grandmother "hadn't the same father for two of her children." Three of her father's brothers, who were drunkards, had married three of her mother's sisters. One of these aunts was known as eccentric, two others were immoral. Elise had always heard about "scandals" in the families of her aunts and "double cousins." One cousin who had deserted her home to live with her brother-in-law, later condoned his offenses when he criminally assaulted and then ruthlessly murdered her own

sister. Even after these dreadful crimes, she visited him in prison continually, and when he was released went again to live with him. Two daughters of one uncle were immoral, and one son was alcoholic and a sexual offender. Among the other cousins, one was a hunchback, one tubercular, and one mentally irresponsible.

After her mother's death, Elise lived for months at a time in Vermont with a cousin who had four illegitimate children. There, as in the Canadian home, she was accustomed to see drinking, carousing and immorality. When later the family moved to a small Connecticut town, the children knew that their father was consorting with colored women. Two brothers died of tuberculosis and a third of cerebral-meningitis. Of the ten living children, three boys were sent to reform schools and two girls were immoral. One of the boys was alcoholic, and another who threatened to set fire to a hospital "just to hear the sick folks yell," was said to be "crazy" and a "born thief." A sister stole from her employers and had a bad reputation. Elise was assaulted by a traveling actor; she gave birth to an illegitimate child at the age of fifteen, and a year later, appeared in a court in New York City as a witness against a procurer who had brought her and a younger companion from Connecticut. She was characterized by those who had opportunity to observe her as "selfish, ungrateful, untruthful, envious, vulgar, venomous in her remarks and attributing always the meanest motives to everyone." At sixteen years of age, she had the mentality of a child of ten. After being returned to Connecticut with the recommendation that she be sent to an institution for the feeble-minded, she ran away from the reformatory to which she had been committed, married a man and deserted him in less than a week, and when later arrested for her immoralities, was discharged by the court. During the time she remained at Waverley House as a witness in an interstate traffic case, careful investigation was begun which revealed facts about the early life of this feeble-minded girl and

placed part of the responsibility for her delinquency at the door of a vicious heredity.

A girl, Ethel Anderson, diagnosed as feeble-minded and committed to a custodial institution, had a prostitute mother and an alcoholic, shiftless, immoral father. When Ethel was five years old, she and two younger sisters were deserted by their mother and left with a colored family. The entire background of the children's lives was familiarity with immorality and vice. Ethel remembered having been "set to watch" for the home-coming of her father, in order to warn her mother of his approach. Even this little child realized that her mother "did not want father to know she had men in the house." Without comprehending the meaning, Ethel had heard her parents repeatedly accuse each other of being the source of infectious diseases from which both suffered. Ethel's mother had a sister who was a prostitute and an alcoholic brother and mother. After the mother "ran off with the married man," the father went to live with an immoral woman who supported him. He willingly entrusted Ethel to his mother and sent the younger children to an orphan asylum. Ethel found the grandmother's home little better than her own. In it was her father's oldest sister, a prostitute of an actively vicious type, who had "roped men into her confidence games" and served prison sentences for larceny. The grandfather, "a fiddler and jack of all trades" in the little New England town, was often intoxicated and grossly immoral. He lived with one woman and then another, had several illegitimate children, and finally deserted his family permanently.

After two or three years with her grandmother, Ethel was committed to the orphan asylum where her sisters had been placed. One of these younger children is mentally retarded, wilful and disobedient, has precocious sex knowledge, "runs after boys constantly," and is still a very great problem in the institution. Ethel failed in successive places of employment and soon was arrested for leading an immoral life. She was "sullen,

unresponsive, ungrateful, disobedient and personally unclean." While in one housework position, her employer returned earlier than she had expected one afternoon and found Ethel entertaining five young men in the house. Neighbors reported her immoral acts in hallways of houses in the neighborhood. When it was discovered that she was bringing men into the apartment for immoral purposes, action was taken which resulted in her commitment to a custodial institution.

Some girls have not only had a bad heredity, but have learned immoral and degenerate practices from vicious members of their own families. A feeble-minded girl of sixteen declared that her father had taught her unnatural practices from the time she was eight years old, and an older prostitute sister also testified to his incestuous relations with her. The father had served one prison sentence for assaulting his wife with a razor; the mother was frequently intoxicated and had been committed several times to the workhouse for disorderly conduct. On one occasion, the mother was found by an investigator beating her little crippled child and acting as though she were demented. An older son was arrested twice for stealing and had once served a prison sentence. Both sisters were accustomed to hear vulgar and brutal talk, and open accusations of their father's relations with them. When questioned about her knowledge of sex matters, the younger girl answered unhesitatingly, "I always knew about such things." A mother, herself mentally deficient, each morning locked her feeble-minded child of thirteen years in the room with a boarder, and regularly received the money which he paid for having immoral relations with this child. The girl was in an ungraded class in the public school, and talked freely with other girls in the school about her association with this boarder. Another girl, who entered prostitution through the influence of a parent, was Tessie, sixteen years old. Her father placed her in a restaurant connected with an immoral resort and received the money which she earned. Investigation proved that her father had criminally assaulted her

when she was twelve years old and that he was entirely responsible for her waywardness. When despondency over her condition led Tessie to attempt suicide, she was brought within the jurisdiction of the court and induced to tell the cause of her trouble.

Only a few cases have come to my knowledge where a degenerate parent has deliberately placed a girl in prostitution and received her earnings. Without exception the parents were of foreign birth. Of 25 girls incarcerated in prisons in Paris, whom I questioned in 1910, five charged one of their parents with this crime. From talking with workers among delinquent girls there, I judged it a far less extraordinary occurrence in Europe than in America, for parents to place their children in prostitution.

Although many unfortunate personal characteristics have their root in mental deficiency and bad heredity, not all can be accounted for in this way. Laziness, weak wills, uncontrolled tempers, love of ease, vanity, and incorrigibility may be inherent within the individual and yet not associated with feeble-mindedness, or may be the result of inadequate discipline or lack of moral training. An overwhelming spirit of depression which plunges many girls into reckless acts arises from quarrels within the home, lack of work and money for food, troubles with husband, discovery of the fact of illegitimacy, and most frequently from desertion by men who have seduced them or promised to marry them, or by the fathers of their illegitimate children. As the girl faces utter blackness ahead, because of the stern disapproval of her family and friends and her own sense of disgrace and "lostness," she cares not whether she throws away her life in prostitution or suicide.

These personal factors, the result of different causes, are not confined to any social class, yet only in the group of unprotected girls do they tend toward prostitution. The quick-tempered, luxury-loving, lazy, wilful, depressed, and even the feeble-minded girl may be safe in a protected environment.

The good opinion of her neighbors, the absence of exciting temptations, and the presence of positive safeguards will effectually shield her. This in itself indicates that girls are not by nature prostitutes, but that those having certain personal characteristics, lacking the protection of a strong environment, enter more readily the ranks of prostitution.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL FACTORS LEADING TO PROSTITUTION

Environmental factors which, combined with individual characteristics, help to explain the entrance of girls into prostitution, include unfortunate home and economic conditions, lack of wholesome recreation and good companionship, and influence of procurers and other exploiters of vice. Taken together, they constitute the low protective barriers surrounding girls who by nature lack those sterling qualities of character which would of themselves prove an adequate safeguard. They are the actively vicious influences directly responsible for causing girls to take this seemingly irrevocable step.

HOME CONDITIONS

Wretched home environment and evil influences there are the most potent factors in the demoralization of girls. When homes are blighted by drunkenness and immorality, or when parents lack sufficient love or respect to create any restraining influence, all protection is broken down. As good home influence creates and strengthens that inhibitive force which enables girls to resist temptations, evil forces weaken the power of resistance and open the way to moral failure. Factors resulting in moral weakness are found in broken, unhappy and immoral homes, which deprive many children of the care of their natural guardians; in poor, congested tenement homes which often serve the double purpose of sweatshops, and in homes utterly lacking in sympathy and understanding on the part of parents, and in all moral and religious training.

Broken Homes

Many girls in prostitution have come from broken homes, where mother or father was dead, or where parents were sep-

arated or divorced. Of 878 homes about which definite information was secured, over 60 per cent. were broken; in 25 per cent., both parents were dead. Inadequate supervision had resulted from widowed or deserted mothers going to work in a factory during the day or to clean offices at night. Children have been accustomed to look after each other and to play on the streets after school, until their mothers returned from work. Frequently stepfathers have treated children unkindly and even cruelly, and stepmothers have failed to give love and sympathy. Complaints of girls have often been found to be true: "My stepmother nagged me all the time," or "My stepfather drove me out." Uncles, aunts, or married brothers and sisters, who have volunteered to care for orphaned children, have not realized their obligation to give them love and care as well as food and clothing. If a quarrel arose or the girl left the home of a relative, she was allowed to go her own way, and often no effort was made to find her.

An orphan asylum is a poor substitute for a home, yet it is the only home that many of these girls have known. There is little in the institution to develop individuality or strengthen character. As a result, girls have been helpless when thrown upon their own responsibilities. Freed from the restraint of the institution, and lacking the care of relatives, many have had no influences to check or hold them. In some institutions there have been actively vicious influences through immoral practices and association with evil companions. One girl, explaining the reason of her immoral living, said: "I never had a home, I was always in an orphan asylum and I met bad girls there. They called us bad names and said we didn't know where we come from."

Crowded Homes

Overcrowding in rooms, tenements and neighborhoods is an obvious menace. In congested sections of the lower part of New York City, large families to which these girls belonged

were herded into two or three narrow rooms—twelve in three small rooms, seven in two rooms, or a family of five eating and sleeping and living in a single room. Many homes lacked the ordinary requirements of privacy and decency. Boys and girls slept in the same room and often in the same bed with one another or with their parents. In some instances, incestuous practices resulted; in others, entire familiarity with the fact of sex relationship. A girl who had always slept with her parents until she was fifteen years old told how she regarded the sex relationship and said: "It would be a wonder if a girl was good that was brought up as I was. No one ever told me it was wrong."

Failing to appreciate the menace to their growing daughters, mothers frequently take boarders or lodgers into the already overcrowded homes. Girls have admitted frankly that they were seduced or assaulted at the age of twelve or thirteen years by boarders who shared the crowded rooms. When addressing a club of over one hundred immigrant mothers in a Settlement on the lower East Side, I spoke of the boarder and lodger evil. Several mothers explained through an interpreter who helped us to understand each other, that they could not pay the high rents without taking boarders and that they had not even thought of the dangers.

A glimpse into some of these crowded homes shows the reason for their failure as a safeguard. Sixteen-year-old Amelia, her Italian mother and father, and four American-born brothers and sisters lived in two small dark rooms on the ground floor of a rear tenement in Mulberry Street. The eldest brother, who was a "light house," which means that he solicited patronage for a disorderly house near by, slept in the tiny dark kitchen at night; the mother and father, Amelia and three younger children occupied the front room. Foul odors came through the opened window of a butcher shop on the ground floor of the front tenement. In winter, when the father returned from his work as a rag-picker, the wretched rooms were piled high with dirty rags; in summer when he went to the country, built a

shanty for himself and gathered "greens" for his wife to sell on a pushcart, the same rooms were a store-house for dandelions and green vegetables. The rent, \$8.50 a month, was the family's only fixed expense; the amount of food and clothes varied according to the family's fluctuating income. The children lived almost entirely on the street, frequented moving picture theatres in the neighborhood, and associated with bad companions. One day, after a quarrel with her mother, Amelia consented to go with a young Italian who promised to marry her and to give her a good home in Long Branch. When later her abductor was arrested for receiving her earnings of prostitution, he sold her to a fellow-procurement for the sum of \$40. Amelia declared that she had nothing to lose, and until she discovered that her abductor had a seventeen-year-old wife and a little baby, she had fully expected him to marry her and to give her the good home he had promised.

In another home, twelve persons in an Austrian family were crowded into three narrow rooms on the ground floor of a tenement. Dora, the eldest of ten children, with her father and four brothers and sisters, slept in the front room; the mother with the five youngest children occupied the only bedroom. While calling upon Dora one winter evening, a glimpse into the cold, dark inner room, revealed five sleeping children lying across the bed, very close together. The pile of red rags heaped upon them to keep out the cold, did not prevent us from seeing that all were wearing their soiled clothes of the day. The father had found it almost impossible from his small earnings of \$10 or \$12 a week as a "finisher by coats," to buy necessary food and clothes and pay \$9 a month rent. Fifteen-year-old Dora had run away from home because she had to give in her \$4 pay-envelope each week, and had no money for herself. Soon after her return, her dissatisfaction with her own surroundings was shown by her words when reporting at the home of one of our visitors. "It's nice to come here," she said. "This is such a pretty room." Then in a contemptuous tone,

she added: "Down at our house we've got nothing but kids and beds."

Sweatshop Homes

In addition to being crowded with people, many Russian, Bohemian and Italian homes are used for sweatshop work. As we enter a tenement home on the lower East Side, we see great piles of men's clothing stacked high in the rooms where Russian women are bending over their work, finishing pants and coats. Only yesterday, a little girl in this family brought one of these huge bundles of half-finished clothing from the factory, balancing it on her small head as she walked through the crowded streets. Ascending the stairs of a tenement house in the Bohemian district, we detect at once the strong fumes of tobacco. Upon entering, we see a mother and daughter rolling cigars from the mass of dried tobacco leaves heaped in front of them. The mother, now crippled with rheumatism, bemoans the fact that her oldest daughters no longer appreciate the home which she has struggled hard to keep together since her husband was taken away to an insane asylum. The truth is, they became tired of work long before the time when the law said they were old enough to go to work, and, besides, they hated the constant grind of the sweatshop. Frequently, as I went to the lower West Side to learn the truth about some Italian girl arrested for soliciting, I would find a mother and several children sitting around a large kitchen table, fashioning artificial flowers or willow plumes. The workers had been at their tasks early in the morning, had stopped a few moments at noon to take a bite of lunch in their hands, and then had enlarged the circle to admit the older children as soon as they came from school in the afternoon. These families were struggling ever to keep above the poverty line and to make the little income cover the bare necessities of life. The pressure and grind of the work were constant, and the race was a pressing one with poverty.

"It's not to put money on the bank, but just to buy bread

and shoes for the children," explained one Italian mother as she kept her eyes steadily upon flowers she was pasting. The mother and four little girls were making roses for rosebud wreaths, and standing by the table and not able to see above it, was a baby boy of two-and-a-half years. With his tiny fingers, he was pulling apart the red petals where they had been pressed together in large bunches by the machine that had cut and shaped them. Even the work of this baby was counted upon. The father brought home \$8 a week from the factory, and since seventeen-year-old Frances had returned from her unhappy marriage three years before, she had contributed her weekly wage of \$5. Yet the income was too small to pay for food and clothes and the rent of two rooms, in addition to doctors' and undertakers' bills. Working as steadily as she could, with the help of the children after school and of Frances when she came home at night, the mother could make only 48 cents a day or about \$3 a week. The prices for making violets and rosebud wreaths were low. When delivered at the factory, a dozen wreaths with 66 rosebuds made and set in each long spray, brought only ten cents. The price of violets, with beautiful silken and velvet petals, fashioned by nimble fingers of little children, was only five cents for a bunch of 144 single flowers.

Yet children from some of these sweatshop tenements have told how much they preferred grinding work at home to life in an orphan asylum. A seven-year-old child said, as she worked away at the purple violets, "Sometimes I get licked 'cause I don't want ter work and want ter play wid my doll, but I'd rudder get licked than get put away in an institute—last year we got put away." Other children in the same family said that often they had worked until midnight, and that they were "hit" if they fell asleep. One Sunday afternoon I found the three children, seven, nine and eleven years old, sewing on shirt-waist buttons. The mother had brought from the factory on Saturday, a huge pile of waists which had to be returned early Monday morning. The children were not free to go out

to play until the sun went down and they could not longer have daylight for their work. Great care had to be taken not to burn the gas too quickly "from the quarter meter," lest there should not be another quarter ready for deposit.

Those who have seen the worn and haggard look of these overburdened mothers, and the pale, thin, and colorless cheeks and sunless faces of children bending over their tasks, can never rest content until these little ones are freed from their oppression, in fact as well as by law, and sweatshop work forever banished from the home. Let those who claim to prize individual liberty so highly that they dare not invade the sanctuary of the home and legislate sweatshop work away, question themselves to determine whether it is liberty they are preserving, or slavery; whether it is lives and morals and happiness of God's children, or a stupid economic system which depends on the sacrifice of little children.

Lack of Understanding and Sympathy

We do not need to go to poor or crowded sections of cities to find homes that fail to give girls that sympathy, understanding and love so necessary during the formative years of life, and that moral training and spiritual insight essential to creation of highest ideals and up-building and strengthening of character. Such homes are all about us, in country and town, as well as in large and small cities. They are found among all classes, whether rich or poor. The ugly wreckage from them is less in one class than another, because greater protection surrounds the daughters of that class. Increased moral failure results in large cities, because pressure of temptation is greater

Failure of the home to inspire its daughters with a feeling of sympathetic understanding, has caused girls to withdraw from it when in greatest need of protection. If a quarrel arose because the girl lost her position, failed to bring her pay-envelope home unbroken, or if she remained out at night until after the appointed hour, frequently she has left home and refused to re-

turn. She has not dared to confide to her parents the story of her betrayal lest she meet only with harsh reproaches.

The severity and false pride of parents who are unwilling to forgive a single mis-step on the part of their children, is sometimes responsible for increased waywardness of their daughters. Knowing that they cannot count upon a forgiving spirit at home, girls do not tell the truth to their parents, but trust to the advice of their seducers or conscienceless physicians or midwives. When an unmarried girl has confided that she was going to give birth to a child, frequently she has been told by an unforgiving father that she could "go and never return." Under such circumstances, some girls resort to suicide and others to prostitution. A father who had angrily turned his daughter from the house when she had told him she was pregnant, came two weeks later to New York from the Massachusetts mill-town and searched feverishly for her through maternity hospitals, "rescue homes," and even disorderly resorts. He had fully expected to find her in a maternity hospital, to which a local physician referred girls for a fee of \$25 or \$50. Less than a week after this futile search in New York was abandoned, a newspaper clipping came telling that the girl's body had been found, floating in a nearby river. To this depressed mill-town girl, death had seemed the only way.

Determination to avert disgrace from themselves at any cost, may be seen clearly by the manner in which relatives of Marietta Johnson dealt with this attractive, untrained girl of sixteen years, when she left her home in Ohio to give birth to her child in New York City. Marietta's parents had separated before her mother's death; her father had disregarded his responsibility for supporting his family, and grandparents, aunts and sisters had cared for her. Fearing lest Marietta might return to Ohio with her child, her proud relatives had refused to send her money. Devotion to her baby made her disregard their entreaties to surrender it. When I found Marietta in a cold furnished room, twelve days after her child was born, she was very

weak. She had no money for food, and the baby was ill. We took the child to a hospital, where a few days later it died. The night we returned, after following the little coffin to a Long Island cemetery, Marietta threw her arms about my neck and with tears in her eyes, said, "You've saved me." I did not fully comprehend her meaning. She explained: "Before I went to the hospital, I met a wealthy man here in New York who offered to take me to his home. He said I could have the baby with me or not as I chose, and he'd buy me all the clothes I wanted, and I wouldn't lack for anything. Since my family didn't care what became of me, and I was almost starving, I had just made up my mind to do it, when you came and took me. I see now how wrong it was. You've been so kind to my little baby and me, that for my baby's sake, I'll go home again and do what's right."

The sister who wrote that she would be glad to take Marietta home, did not keep faith. Eagerness to save the family from disgrace conquered her desire to give Marietta a chance. She met her in a taxicab at the station and took her directly to the local House of Good Shepherd to remain for two long years.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Upon many of these girls with poor, crowded, and unsympathetic homes has fallen the weight of economic pressure. Lack of work and money to pay for food and lodging, dangerous kinds of work, low wages and lack of training for work, have been partly responsible for bringing them into prostitution. Except in rare instances, girls have not been virtuous one day and prostitutes the next because of want of actual necessities of life. The breaking-down process has been much more gradual, involving many intermediate stages. Led at first by affection or demoralizing neighborhood influences to take the first step, they have later learned that it was possible to earn money by their immoral living. When a girl faces starvation for herself and her child because of desertion by a man who had prom-

ised to marry her or because of unsympathetic treatment at home; when she walks up and down long streets in search of honest employment without finding an opening; when she grinds hard, day by day, at deadening work, and makes barely enough by most rigid economy, for her meagre living; or when she is obliged to give every cent of her wage at home, leaving none for the little luxuries and pleasures which she craves, she is induced more readily to accept the way which offers her immediate relief and promises much for the future. The life, pictured as easy and luxurious, affording good clothes and money, and time for pleasure, is fascinating in contrast with the daily round of monotonous toil to which she has been accustomed. That so many girls upon whom this burden of pressure falls heavily, stand the test and win out in the struggle, is proof of the splendid character of womanhood in this country.

Lack of Work

Girls out of work with no money to pay for living expenses, have met real moral dangers. Under such circumstances, they have deliberately considered whether it were better to starve, steal, commit suicide, or enter the other avenue open to them—a life of prostitution. Having spent the last penny for food, or gone without eating for two or three days, they have lost all hope and decided that it made no difference what became of them. Courage has failed them when they thought of suicide, and stealing has seemed to them a crime. They have defended their position in having adopted an immoral life by declaring that "at least they had hurt no one but themselves." If it occurred to them to secure help from a philanthropic society, they have not known where to go or have had too great pride to ask for aid. Occasionally in such a crisis, girls have turned to police or courts. Others have been afraid to take such a step for fear of arrest.

Two sisters, fifteen and sixteen years old, told me with hesitation one evening in the Night Court, how they decided to

"take a chance" and come to the court for help. When they returned that night from their meagre meal in a cheap restaurant, they had found a padlock on the door of their furnished room. The irate landlady refused to admit them, even to get necessary clothes, and declared that she would keep their trunk until she was paid her rent-money of \$12. During the three previous weeks they had been out of work and had spent their small savings for food, leaving none for room-rent. The older sister had just secured a position in a department store at \$4.50 a week, but she could not get her wages for two days. Even then, most of it had to be saved for food during the following week. Without relatives or friends in New York City, and only fifty cents left in their joint purse, these two sisters had appealed in desperation to a police officer to be allowed to enter their room. They had been referred by him to the court for advice. It was difficult for them to understand that the law protected the landlady in keeping the trunk and turning them out of the house, yet such was the fact. They gladly accepted, however, opportunity to go to a boarding home for the night. The next day the trunk was recovered; a permanent boarding place found, and a position secured for the unemployed sister. In telling of their discouragement and despair and of different ways open to them, the younger sister declared, "I could do like lots of girls do, I suppose, but I won't go on the streets."

Believing that New York holds better opportunities for work than any other city, untrained girls have been attracted to it, only to find themselves friendless and helpless after their small funds were exhausted. Among the young women entering prostitution under such circumstances was an American girl, Anita Gray, who ran away from the home of her foster-parents in a small town of Pennsylvania. From the "Christian boarding home," where she spent the first week, she went out each day in search of work. Two or three employment agencies where she applied, gave her little encouragement because of her lack of references, yet advised her to return. When answering

advertisements, she was told that she would be notified if her services were needed, but she received no letters. As her money diminished, she said she could not pay any longer fifty cents a night for her room, and was given the address of a furnished-room house where her expenses would be less. While standing on the corner of Forty-second Street and Sixth Avenue, wondering whether or not she should pay \$2 at once for room-rent, a man approached her. In answer to his question as to the cause of her troubled look, she told of her difficulty in finding work and her fear that her money would not last through the week. "It seemed too good to be true," said Anita, "when he offered me free board and said he would help me in finding work." She went home with him and the following night was taken by the man's "wife" to a saloon dance hall in West Fortieth Street. There she was welcomed by the good-natured manager and his friends, was offered "privileges" in the place, and for the first time had her eyes opened to life in the underworld. "They told me he took all the chickens himself, but I was green and I didn't know they meant I was a chicken," said Anita, in a naïve, childish way, as she told of the manager of the resort. She had been frequenting the place a few days, when word came from her home town asking us to help in locating this runaway girl. A woman of the streets, to whom I showed a photograph of Anita, recognized it at once and said she had seen her the night before in the Fortieth Street resort. Only a few hours later, we found her there. "It wouldn't all have happened if I only had a mother," said sixteen-year-old Anita, after coming to Waverley House. "She couldn't take care of all ten of us, so she put us away in a home after my father died. I tried my best to get a position in New York and walked the streets day after day looking for work. I never knew it could be so hard to get a chance to earn one's living."

Girls having the responsibility of helping with expenses at home, of sending money to their mothers in other cities or countries, or of supporting a child, have adopted prostitution,

when they could see no other way. A young woman, who sent money regularly to her mother in Europe, said: "I didn't have nothing to work. I send money every month to my mother in Poland. If I don't send her money, she starve." Several young women have declared that they felt entirely justified in their manner of living because of their obligation to support their children. The honest explanation of a number of girls has been, "I did it to support my little baby and me." A tall, handsome woman, extraordinarily clever and attractive, had for ten years supported her child by her earnings of immorality. When deserted in Paris by a man who had promised marriage, she cared for her infant son, and later brought him with her to New York. While soliciting in one of the well-known hotels on Fifth Avenue, she would be flashily dressed and adorned with jewels; but one day in the month when she visited her ten-year-old boy in the excellent school where she placed him, she would don a plain tailored suit and a long black veil so that no one could recognize her. She was determined that her child should never know the truth about his mother. When I visited the school, and without divulging any information, saw the boy and talked with the master about his work, I appreciated more fully the determination of the mother to "keep him and educate him."

Seasonal Work

In the long slack seasons when workers are laid off from factories, and from millinery and dressmaking shops, many girls are exposed to great dangers. While those having their own homes may be able to get along, girls with no savings or without relatives willing to trust them for board and lodging, face a desperate situation. In such times of stress some of the girls have allowed their "gentlemen friends" to pay their room-rent, or have learned that they could earn money by immoral living.

Many factories have dull seasons when operators, candy

wrappers, packers, and box or cigar makers are out of work. "The new hands they lay off and the old hands they keep on," said one girl in explaining the system which deals so severely with unskilled workers. She was a new hand. An Austrian girl, Sarah, during less than two years in America, was discharged from three of her four work places because work was slack. While employed as a "brancher by flowers," she gave her wage of \$3 to her married sister for board. In telling of those difficult times, she said, "I had never a penny for carfare. I got no clothes at all, only a pair of shoes to my birthday." When the flower season was over, Sarah was idle for several weeks before she secured a position "at paper boxes." Later she worked "by hats," sewing on labels and putting in linings. Although her wage was increased to \$4.50 a week, she still gave it all to her sister, and had none for herself. Soon the dull time came in the hat-making industry and Sarah was out of work. "Den my brudder-in-law tole me I should leave de house ven I hev no money for board," said Sarah. "I didn't hev where to lay mine head and I tink it no harm ven dis man speak nice to me in de restaurant an' offer me his room." Sarah was ignorant of the dangers and did not know that her step would lead her, as it did, into prostitution. In court, the married sister admitted that her "husband got a mad on Sarah and put her out ven she got laid off so many time von de factory."

Girls employed in dressmaking, millinery, embroidery and fur trades, know that work is seasonal. Workers can save something more readily from the higher wages in these trades for periods of unemployment, but they do not always take advantage of this. Two girls of seventeen and nineteen, who earned from \$18 to \$20 a week at fur-pointing, had money during the busy season for clothes, amusement and board; but they never saved from their wages for the time when the fur-pointing season would be over. In winter, it was impossible for them to earn more than \$5 or \$6 a week at unskilled work

in a factory. In the hope of getting better positions, they would hesitate to take the much-scorned "five-dollar-a-week-factory-job." The standard of living made possible by the widely differing wages, presented real problems. Periods of idleness between positions proved demoralizing and were largely responsible for the waywardness and delinquency of these girls.

Dangerous Work

Character of employment and conditions surrounding workers result in exposing girls to great temptations. Waitresses in restaurants and cafés, chambermaids and hall maids in hotels, clerks in department stores, chorus girls, models, masseuses and manicurists, and girls doing night work in stores, offices, telephone exchanges, and factories, have had experiences in work which are partly responsible for their immoral living. Since the proportion of women engaged in these different occupations is small, we would not expect a large percentage of prostitutes from them. A relationship between kind of work and entrance into prostitution can, however, be traced in a number of instances. Although there are dangers in nearly every kind of work and none is wholly free, I am convinced that some occupations offer more temptations than others.

The large percentage of young women in prostitution who come from domestic service and factory work would seem to indicate that those were most dangerous occupations, if we did not remember that the largest percentage of women workers are still engaged in those occupations, and that they draw upon low grade workers more than any other kinds of employment. Although we do find, occasionally, that a servant girl has been seduced by the husband or son of the family, butler, chauffeur, or other employee, we cannot conclude that housework was responsible for bringing her into prostitution. A mistress who discharged such a girl immediately, after discovering that she was to give birth to a child, making no provision for her

and causing her to feel utterly "lost," has doubtless turned some domestic servants into prostitution. But an analysis of the group of domestics in prostitution reveals a larger proportion than in any other occupation of ignorant, low grade, mentally deficient girls, handicapped both by heredity and environment. Girls released from orphan asylums and different institutions, immigrants who cannot secure other work, and girls physically or mentally handicapped, are assured of their living in domestic service. Lack of freedom and of opportunity for pleasure, long hours of work, and the idea that the social status of "servants" is lower than that of other workers, explain the attitude of the many young women toward domestic service, and their unwillingness to enter it.

In many hotels and restaurants, girls are subjected to great temptations. As chambermaids and hall maids, they are on duty at all hours of day and night, and are associated with men and women who often take it for granted that they are immoral. Young women working in hotels in country towns or small cities have come to New York with traveling salesmen or other patrons, not realizing that they were starting on the way to prostitution. Waitresses, making an effort to please for the sake of increased patronage and larger fees, have resorted to familiarity with men. After accepting invitations to theatres and dance halls, they have later found that they "had to pay up." Some restaurants and cafés, connected with disorderly resorts, have expected their waitresses to be immoral. Girls were told nothing of it when they were employed, but they soon discovered that they could not remain unless they were willing to make immoral proposals to men and to supplement their legitimate wage by prostitution.

Although many serious charges against department store owners and managers in helping to accomplish the demoralization of their workers remain to be substantiated, it is true that employees in stores are exposed to great temptations. In at least one instance, a joint owner of a department store in New

York City was rightly credited with owning a disorderly resort. At times girls are under the direction of unscrupulous floor-walkers and heads of departments, or associated with fellow-workers of immoral character. A floorwalker in one department store was virtually a procurer and for a sum of money introduced men for immoral purposes to young saleswomen. A sales clerk told me of his method of work: "It was like this: For \$5 or \$10 he would introduce a girl at the candy counter to some man who would take her out. He did it for six months before they got wise to it. One of the girls told her gentleman friend about it and he came in and started to thrash the floor-walker. He tried to get him arrested, but the store wouldn't stand for that. They quieted it down so that it never got in the papers, but they had to discharge the man." This same girl told of improper proposals to young women remaining to work at night, and of "lay-off and discharge slips" showing that girls had gone to maternity hospitals. One girl, seduced by a colored elevator man in the store, was discharged as "undesirable." The man also was dismissed, but in less than a month was taken back into the store. Another girl, fifteen years old, Gertrude K., who looked merely like a child with her braided hair and short skirts, was taken by one of the salesmen to the theatre one evening, and later to a hotel for supper. Her refusal to drink was broken down by ridicule. She was frightened when she awakened in the hotel the next morning, and threatened to tell her mother; but when she entered her home at ten o'clock Sunday morning, she said that she had stayed all night with a friend. The angry father declared he would teach her a lesson, and gave her a severe beating. Threats of exposure at home caused Gertrude to consent reluctantly, to go again with the man the following Saturday evening. When he demanded \$2 to pay for the room in the hotel, Gertrude unwillingly handed it to him from her own pay-envelope. She explained to her mother that she was docked for being late. By going to hotels frequented by prostitutes, Gertrude learned of the life of the

streets and soon ran away from home to enter upon a life of prostitution.

Much conversation in stores is demoralizing. Wrong construction is placed by men employees upon girls' statements, and insinuating remarks are frequent. When saleswomen talk of going to dinners and theatres, others interpret their meaning and say: "Men don't take girls out for nothing." Immoral stories are told, disgusting parodies on songs are sung, and vulgar remarks, pictures and verses, are inscribed on walls of dressing rooms. An immoral atmosphere, tending to make vice so familiar that girls do not even resent it, is the result of the low tone of conversation. An attractive young Italian girl, whose big brown eyes sparkled with light as she spoke, said she did not know why men in the store looked at her and bothered her. She told of her difficulty in turning aside their immoral proposals. Yet she admitted that she was interested in "bad things" after having heard so much in the store, and after having seen the patrol wagon back up to take girls out of disorderly resorts in the same block. She knew that a few sales-women were frequenting one of these places during the noon-hour and after work at night. With others, she had hidden behind screens to hear what older clerks said to men coming into the department. There was a glamor about the gay life and in order to be accepted by the group having knowledge of it, this sixteen-year-old girl claimed wide experience. She said: "Sometimes us girls pretend we're bad whether we are or not just so's to be on the inside and hear all that's going on."

Saleswomen are easily accessible to men who wish to make immoral proposals. In a number of instances keepers of call flats and other resorts have talked with girls over the counters, invited them to their homes, and later opened the way to immoral living. Although many of these cases are incapable of legal proof, an occasional one comes before the court. Testimony against a keeper of a massage parlor, showed one method of procuring young women. Entering a store on a thickly

crowded corner, where there is a constant surging of humanity back and forth, a procurer talked with an attractive girl at the human hair goods counter. After finding that the girl had known his wife, when she was a sales clerk in the store, he offered her free treatment at his massage and manicuring parlor, in return for sending customers from her counter. The young woman went to the massage parlor out of curiosity, returned for treatments, and soon discovered the character of the place. She was expected to lead an immoral life, as his own wife was doing. When the man was arrested on the charge of procuring, both his wife and the young sales clerk gave evidence against him which resulted in his sentence to prison. The conviction in November, 1913, of seven men who loitered about the waiting rooms of a Sixth Avenue store in New York City, making immoral proposals to clerks, was evidence of the fact that procurers turn to the department stores as a recruiting place.

Stories told by actresses and chorus girls show that some of them are led into a life of immorality through their work. They tell of the freedom among men and women at small hotels, when on one-night stands in country towns and small cities. They assert that it is impossible to be on the stage without leading an immoral life, and declare it is the price they must pay for advancement in their profession. Girls have false hopes held out to them by unscrupulous managers of theatrical companies, only to find themselves two or three weeks later left penniless in a distant city.

Two young girls in search of work were accosted by a man in the elevator of a department store and offered a position in a small theatrical company. Without confiding in their parents they went to rehearsals and consented to go on the road. Their names, printed on a small handbill, indicated their parts in the comedy. The last day of rehearsal, one of them overheard conversation between the men about the "last troupe left stranded in Chicago." This frightened sixteen-year-old girl confided to her friend her fear that they might be left in the

same way. She confessed she would not object to being stranded in Hoboken, their first stopping place, but she was determined not to be left in a distant city. The companion admitted that she had received immoral proposals from one of the men and that she was glad to back out. They did not dare tell the managers, however, because their names were already printed on the program, but they simply stayed away.

Another young girl, Marguerite, had answered an advertisement in a morning paper, "Show girls wanted—no experience necessary." She thought it would be fun to go on the stage, and much more interesting than working all day long in an office. At the end of the first week of rehearsals she was distressed to find that she would receive no money until the end of a week on the road. She had not told her mother of her change in work, and she did not dare to go home without her weekly wage. "That was the beginning of it all," said Marguerite, as she fondled the beautiful baby she held in her arms. "The manager was one of the men who starts shows just to break them up and get money from the backers. The show broke up after a week on the road, and I didn't know what to do. He said he would take care of me and find another job. But he only took me to live with him and left me a few months later when he knew I was going to have a child. I threatened to tell on him every time he tried to make me go out on the street and finally I went off and left him." A sensitive girl of fine spirit who had been supported partially by a man in the theatrical company where she worked, entered prostitution during the summer when the company disbanded. She insisted that no young girl should ever go on the stage, and said, "It's when you first start that your head gets turned. The men simply won't leave you alone. I tell you it's hard for any stage-girl to go straight."

Many massage and manicuring parlors are disorderly resorts employing only women who will win patronage and profits through immoral living. From the nature of these occupations,

young girls who become manicurists in barber shops or operators in massage parlors find the way into prostitution easy. On the other hand, we discover that occasional prostitutes have taken up these professions as a cloak to their immorality.

Night work is dangerous for women. Dangers arise from girls going back and forth to their work late at night or very early in the morning, from lack of supervision in places of employment, from relaxing of control by the home over girls doing night work, and from the weakened moral sense resulting from loss of vitality through great fatigue and overstrain. A young girl employed in a magazine establishment declared when arraigned in court that night work was responsible for all her trouble. She said, "If I hadn't worked in Pearl Street at night I'd never got in with these people. When I stayed till 11 or 12 o'clock to wrap magazines, I had to walk to Chatham Square, and one time a man asked me to come into Chinatown to see the sights. First I knew, I was stopping there every night. No one was sure what time I got through my work, so I could tell my mother that I was kept awful late." This girl had been obliged to walk through a most dangerous part of the city to reach an elevated train to her home uptown. The brilliantly lighted resorts, the strange odors and queer sights had the same fascination for her that they have for thousands of curious sight-seers. Through glimpses of Oriental life, she was drawn into opium dens and other vicious resorts of Chinatown.

Girls employed at night as telephone operators in exchanges, hotels and apartment houses have declared it was almost impossible for a girl to "keep straight." Dangers are not removed in telephone exchanges because girls are locked in at night. They go out at an early hour in the morning; are unable to get proper rest in their noisy, crowded homes; and through physical fatigue relax their moral vigilance. After being employed at night for a few weeks or months they can leave their work and frequent vicious resorts without arousing the suspicion of parents or relatives.

Low Wage

Low wage is one of the economic factors operating in combination with others, to bring pressure upon working girls and to cause them to yield to temptations. Yet only 19 of the 1000 girls claimed it to be the chief reason for entering prostitution, and not one gave it as the cause of her first immoral step. Great injustice has been done to the splendid working women of the country by sensational investigations which have led many to regard low wage as the principal cause of prostitution. Those who know the heroism of courageous girls as they face their work, day after day, reaping in return barely enough for actual necessities of life, do not need to be told that the low wage is not chiefly responsible for professional immorality. Yet it cannot be relieved of all responsibility. In so far as it robs girls of good food, sunshine, light and air, causing physical endurance and vitality to be undermined; to the extent it affords no margin for wholesome recreation or the little luxuries craved by every girlish heart, and makes impossible any saving for the periods of slack work or unemployment, it can be charged rightly with some share in the continuance of this great evil.

Do we realize how tremendous is the force of this great economic pressure? Let us follow for a moment some of these girls who are entirely dependent upon their slender earnings for support, as we see them at six o'clock thronging through streets leading eastward from Fifth Avenue. A slender, pale-faced girl, known as "Russian Bess" by her co-laborers in the skirt factory, hurries along with the rest until she comes to Third Avenue. She stops to purchase some cinnamon buns and a bottle of milk, and then quickly disappears into a furnished-room house in Fourteenth Street. Tired and exhausted she throws herself down on the bed in her dingy room, with its faded wallpaper, well-worn carpet, dilapidated furniture, and single grimy window. This is the only home which Bess has known for over

two years since she left the overcrowded home of a distant cousin, a few months after arriving in America. For it she pays \$2 from her earnings. Board costs another \$2, sometimes \$2.50. Breakfast, consisting of coffee and rolls, costs ten cents in a restaurant, less if prepared in her room. Sunday breakfast is omitted for the sake of saving the ten cents. Fifteen cents is allowed for luncheon, the hearty meal of the day, and ten cents for milk and rolls at night. As there is no opportunity to do her own laundry, she is obliged to pay fifty cents weekly for this. The balance for occasional carfares on rainy days, for recreation and for clothes, is seldom more than fifty cents a week. It is very difficult, almost impossible, to save for the necessary pair of shoes and for the winter suit or coat. One winter in her eagerness to have a warm coat before the coldest weather had passed, Bess was tempted to buy it on the instalment plan. But she had worried so much about the payments and found them so difficult to meet, she vowed never to buy another thing until she had saved the money.

During a year and a half, she had been employed in five different places as an operator on skirts earning by her piece-work sewing, twenty-five cents a skirt, and not more than \$5 or \$6 a week. Sometimes it was considerably less. When she first went to work in an East Side sweatshop belonging to an acquaintance of her cousin, she could not earn more than \$2 or \$3. Like all the other girls there, she had been obliged to pay five cents a week for the ice water she drank, two-and-a-half cents for each needle she broke, and \$36 for her machine. Working on rough cloth, sometimes she broke several needles a day. The employer, paying one dollar for 125 needles and charging two-and-a-half cents for each one, made a profit on them. Bess did not realize more than the other immigrant girls, when a small amount was being deducted each week for needles and the cost of a sewing-machine, that she was being wretchedly exploited. She left the shop a few weeks before the machine was paid for, and had no money refunded. She would have owned

the machine if she had completed paying for it, but she had no opportunity to use it in other factories.

Time passes, and the pressure of poverty becomes too great. Discouraged because of her difficulty in making enough to support herself decently, and lonely in her dreary furnished room, Bess listens to the words of an older prostitute living in the house, and seeks to add to her income by occasional excursions into a life of immorality. In explaining her action, when brought into court, she said, "I got discouraged with the whole thing. I didn't have enough money to buy shoes and I had to go about raggedy. Whether you're sick or well, when your week is up you've got to pay your rent. At times I lived on five cents worth of doughnuts a day. I was starving when I went out."

Another girl with equal or greater economic pressure upon her was Clara, a young sales-girl from a Twenty-third Street store, in the days before that street had been forsaken as a shopping centre. She walked all the way to a tenement below the Williamsburg Bridge to save the five-cent fare. Instead of spending ten cents for luncheon, each morning she purchased an apple or an orange from a pushcart. By helping her aunt with the housework, she secured for \$3 a week, room and board, and the privilege of doing her laundry on Sunday. After the death of her mother and the desertion of the family by her father, Clara was so determined to prevent her ten-year-old sister from being sent to an orphan asylum, that she saved \$2 a week for her sister's board from her own \$6 wage. She also kept a watchful eye on fourteen-year-old Anna, who had secured work at \$4 a week in a factory on Grand Street. When helping an older sister who came to us shortly before she was to give birth to a child, we were able to lighten the burden for Clara, by securing a good home for the ten-year-old child, a scholarship for ambitious Anna to enable her to return to school, and a better home for the older girls nearer their places of work. In spite of many temptations and the low wage of \$6 in a depart-

ment store, Clara went bravely on, fighting her daily battle, and has won in the difficult struggle.

The low wage of the family, as well as that of the individual girl, has been one of the many factors contributing to the delinquency of some of its members. Girls living at home have had to give in their unbroken pay envelopes in return for which they have received little more than their board and necessary clothing. If they have lived far from their work, they have had ten cents each day for carfare and sometimes five cents to buy a cup of coffee at luncheon, but they have had no allowance for frills or for spending money. Some girls who do not have an extra penny for themselves, save their carfare or lunch money to purchase candy and tickets to moving picture shows. For the coveted silk stockings or other clothing, girls frequently extract twenty-five or fifty cents from their weekly wage, or fail to tell when their wage is increased. A girl who confided to me that she was "sneaking fifty cents a week on her mother" after her wage was increased to \$6.50 a week, had been saving the extra amount for several weeks to pay for necessary dentistry.

The low family income affects girls physically and morally. Because of it they have poor clothing and insufficient food; they live in overcrowded homes in a congested district where vice is a familiar sight; they seek their amusement in places frequented by dangerous people, and they are pressed out at an early age to industry, unskilled and untrained, to join in monotonous work that fails to engage their interest. What wonder that some of them fail! The marvel is that so few go down in the great economic struggle, and that so many of them win out!

Lack of Training for Work

One of the most important economic factors is lack of training for work. Almost automatically, at the age of fourteen years, or as soon after as the law permits, young girls file out in a long procession from the public schools, secure their working papers on the basis of minimum requirements, and find themselves

launched suddenly into an industrial world. Sometimes, through false oaths of mothers or use of birth certificates of older sisters, they have entered factories several years before the required legal age. Only in exceptional instances do girls receive any training for work. A few enter a trade school or take a business course, but the number is infinitesimally small in comparison with the large throngs who enter at once upon unskilled work in factories, stores, and workshops.

The wide variety of occupations in which some girls are engaged during a short period of employment implies that work alone as preparation for positions requiring increased skill and responsibility is not sufficient training. Girls do not choose the kind of work which appeals especially to them; when they are ready to go to work, they take anything that is offered, and without plan or purpose drift from one position to another. The kinds of work are so unrelated that one is seldom a preparation for another. A girl may pack candy one month, enter a store during the rush season at Christmas, go to an office to address envelopes for a few weeks, and then, under pressure, grudgingly take up her work again in a biscuit or cigar factory. As a result, the years between fourteen and sixteen are practically lost by girls entering industry. The following record of a sixteen-year-old girl who began work at fourteen years of age and had several periods of idleness between different positions, is typical of many:

Rolling embroidery on card	3 months	\$3.50 per week
Candy factory	3 weeks	3.50 " "
"At belts"	1 month	4.00 " "
Packer in store	3 months	3.50 " "
"On a fluting machine"	3 weeks	3.50 " "
Paper boxes	5 weeks	4.50 " "
Candy factory	2 months	4.00 " "

Lack of preparation for work means lack of efficiency in work. Instead of becoming more competent, girls remain on the same level. The mechanical nature of their work gives no oppor-

tunity for advancement. There is no call for mental alertness and keenness, and no opportunity to develop these qualities. Unskilled workers receive year after year a wage with little or no advance, and have little incentive from that source to do better work. Furthermore, poverty of mental resources makes it impossible for many of them to relieve the monotony of their dull routine. Lacking resources and opportunity for finding pleasure and joy in their work, they turn for their diversion and amusement to the moving picture show and the dance hall.

THE RECREATIONAL FACTOR

Dangerous forms of recreation and lack of wholesome recreation are factors in the moral break-down of women. The instinct to play and to associate with companions is natural and normal. The cities having failed to provide adequately for these recreational needs of the masses, private commercial interests have exploited for great financial gain this love of pleasure. As a result, little or no attention has been given to physical or moral conditions of amusement places, and every possible method has been utilized to increase profits. Recognition of large earnings to be gained through combining the sale of liquor with recreation, has caused the dance hall to sell intoxicating drinks and the saloon to provide back rooms for dancing. The bright lights and gay music of dance hall and café, and the continuous excitement offered by moving picture shows, cheap theatres, and summer amusement parks, attract the young girls to them. For a few brief moments they forget the grind of the work, the worry and sordidness of home, or the loneliness of a cold furnished room, and give way to a spirit of recklessness. Excited by the sense of pleasure or by drinks, they become unthinking, careless, and reckless. Lack of opportunities for good recreation has been partly responsible for the over-stimulated craving for pleasure. Few safe places have existed. When the truth is fully recognized that recreation is a real need of life, rural districts and small towns will provide

for it, and cities will not leave the play-time of its youth to be exploited by profit-makers, nor will they permit the amusement resorts of the city to be pathways leading to vice.

Dance Halls

Many girls have entered prostitution by way of dangerous dance halls. There they have indulged in immoral dances and intoxicating drinks, and have associated with prostitutes, procurers, and gunmen. Observation of the indecent dances, originally brought from the lowest dives, enables us to appreciate readily their harmful effect upon the dancers. Suggestive songs, printed on the back of cards or "throw-aways," and sung by all the dancers, serve to excite them still more. For the purpose of increasing the sale of drinks, halls are kept hot and poorly ventilated, dances are short, and intermissions long. The girl is ridiculed by her companions when she insists on taking soft drinks, and soon, to keep up with the rest, she is indulging freely in intoxicating liquors. At balls of "social clubs" and associations, young working women and ignorant immigrant girls mingle freely with procurers, keepers of disorderly resorts, women of the street and men who live on their earnings.

To make the "benefit ball" of their friends a success, fellow gangmen purchase tickets at \$10 or \$25 or even \$100 and attend in large numbers. Often a member of a rival gang finds such an occasion a good opportunity "to get" an enemy upon whom he has vowed vengeance for "stealing away a girl," failing to pay a gambling debt, or "squealing to the police." The result is a "shooting up" at the ball.

A German girl, Gretchen, who was later stabbed by the procurer who had terrorized her, told me of being forced to take part in one of these shootings. One New Year's eve, when she was downhearted and lonesome, Gretchen was commanded by her master to prepare herself for a "racket." She said: "Just when I am ready to start, he give me two 38-calibre revolvers

and tell me to put one in each sleeve. He say he want revenge and he going to shoot a man. Five of his pals come into the room and he take them along to protect me. After they have one dance, he seen the man he want and he call me one side and take the revolvers. I hardly know all what happen, but when we stand by the door, I hear a loud shot right beside me, the lights go out, and his friends push us out of the hall. I put the revolvers back in my sleeves and walk home through a narrow dark side street. I am so frighten I don't know what to do. They get one of his friends and threaten him with twenty years if he don't squeal. But he don't squeal and they do nothing. Even the man in the corner saloon, where they all used to hang, say, 'Tell your man to keep low because cops are after him.'"

A shooting was threatened the night of a benefit ball given in the spring of 1912, in honor of the well-known leader of the Kid Twist Gang. The day before the ball, a rumor came to me from several women of the street that the men would fight that night for the possession of a young girl, Wanda, who had deserted an Italian gangman for a close friend of the Kid Twist leader. She had been sent to the streets by one of the four gunmen who later paid with their lives the penalty of murdering the gambler, Rosenthal. "Look, I'll get even with you yet," he called to her in a tone of vengeance, as he brushed past her in the whirl of the dance. In talking of him later, she said, "Wait till I get even with him too. I can tell how he took me away from home and taught me to steal, how he robs and shoots and kills; how he won \$1,600 in a stuss joint on Second Avenue last week and how he pays \$100 every night for his automobile rides and the rest, without ever working a stroke." Yet Wanda admitted that she would never have him arrested for she knew that the gang would shoot her. As the result of the rumors of shooting, nine detectives were present in Arlington Hall that evening. Those who observed the officers, said "they had nothing to do but sit in the gallery and drink. The shooting didn't come

off." Yet from the gallery they must have heard the immoral songs and must have seen young working girls dancing with semi-intoxicated men whose coarse conversation and boisterous jests betrayed association with underworld life. A glimpse of the lists of committees and members of the association printed on the back of the thirty-two page program, revealed to those familiar with names and nicknames of procurers, gunmen, and gamblers, the most notorious criminals within a large area of the city. The success of the ball was measured by the attendance of these men and many outsiders and by the large financial profits which amounted to \$3,000. This included the price of tickets, the receipts from advertising and sale of drinks, after all expenses had been paid. Advertisements in the program of all-night dancing in Chinatown cafés, of special features at disorderly clubs and pool parlors, together with announcements of various business enterprises, brought in nearly \$1,000. Because the proceeds from the sale of drinks exceeded \$500 the manager was relieved of paying a fee for the hall. Instead, he received a percentage on all drinks exceeding the amount of \$500.

Less than three months after this ball the gang leader was shot down by his enemies as he left the Criminal Court building. When he had appeared early that morning in Chinatown after a shooting between gunmen at South Beach and Coney Island and the lights of Chinatown went out, he knew that there was trouble ahead. Whether Italian members had broken away under another leader because of unequal division of spoils; or whether, as underworld gossip had it, they had fought for the possession of the blonde girl, Wanda, no one could truly tell. The outcome of the quarrel and the shooting, scheduled to come on the night of the ball, was the death of the gunman who had terrorized the East Side and been chief of the Kid Twist gang since its founder surrendered leadership.

Dancing academies in New York State, although free from sale of liquor on the same floor with the dance hall, are not free

from other moral dangers. Men known as "spielers," who pretend to give instruction in these places, are actually procurers. A young Hungarian girl, Mary Kluger, who had been four months in America, met one of these "teachers" in a dance hall on Avenue A. Other girls employed in the restaurant where Mary worked had told her of the Sunday night dances where she "could meet nice fellers and learn to dance." During the three Sunday evenings she went to the hall she spent most of her time with the man who gave her instruction. After the third visit she was induced by him to go to a hotel for the night, and the next day was shown how to earn money by prostitution. After the second day on the streets, when arrested and arraigned in the Night Court, she blamed the bad dance hall for her trouble.

Few of the ruddy-faced Polish and Hungarian girls, who may be seen in their light dresses with scarves over their heads, making their way on Sunday afternoon to dancing academies on the lower East Side, have any knowledge of the dangers of those places. They do not even know of the existence of the life into which they may find themselves quickly plunged.

Noon dances, which have been an innovation during the last few years, have drawn girls from downtown offices and workshops. Without regard to moral dangers to their patrons, several music stores and restaurants have introduced noon dancing as a means of increasing patronage.

In none of the dance halls or dancing academies has there been adequate supervision. Employees in these places who might have helped in safeguarding girls, have been more interested in their demoralization. They have not only introduced men of bad reputation to girls, but have been responsible for causing girls to take their first immoral step. Maids in dressing rooms, under the direction of managers, have dispensed favors of cigarettes and cosmetics, and assisted young girls in blackening their eyebrows and painting their cheeks.

Instead of affording protection, police officers frequently have been regardless of violations of law.

Cafés, Clubs and Amusement Parks

Girls have been drawn into vice through cafés and clubs. Attracted by the life and gaiety in the cafés and rathskellers with their cabaret shows, music, dancing and drinking, they have fallen under the influence of the subdued lights and intoxicating atmosphere.

The most dangerous clubs in New York have been the "black and tan joints," managed and patronized principally by colored men and frequented by young white girls. Children too young to be admitted, look in through the low swinging doors and are thrilled by the excitement and music. A club in West Thirty-fifth Street was such a resort. In the evening, girls not more than fifteen or seventeen years of age were seen at tables, drinking, and singing or dancing in the most indecent manner with colored men. The second floor was used by patrons for gambling and prostitution. Some habitués dispensed cocaine, morphine, and opium to "safe" patrons, and gave them to young girls for the first time.

When the dance halls and clubs close in summer, managers and patrons go regularly to amusement parks on the outskirts of the city. There young women join in dancing and drinking, and under the cover of dark woods are induced to acts of immorality. Girls accustomed to boast that they were able to take care of themselves, have looked back with bitterness and sorrow to a holiday or Sunday picnic when they saw no harm in flirting with men. They have told of taking the first immoral step on New Year's eve, Election night, at the time of a Mardi Gras festival, or a Hudson-Fulton celebration, when large throngs have crowded the city streets and given themselves up to coarse fun-making and they have shared in the spirit of lawlessness.

Moving Picture Theatres

Lurking in moving picture houses and cheap theatres there are many dangers for young girls. In spite of censorship of films some pictures are still shown with a debasing influence upon impressionable minds. The stories depicted involve elopements, betrayals, unfaithfulness of husbands and wives, and many vices and crimes. Children literally feed upon exciting and ever more exciting scenes, until they will do anything to gain admission to them. They will steal, ask strange men to take them in, or even indulge in immoral practices, opportunity for which may easily be found in the darkened galleries and obscure corners of some moving picture theatres. Among the children demoralized in this way were two little girls, twelve and thirteen years of age, who went regularly to a theatre with a man whom they had met in one of the city playgrounds, and, as he demanded, sat in his lap in the dark gallery. Only a short time after this, they were going to hallways near by for immoral purposes. Procurers and white slave traffickers watch for young girls at moving picture theatres or win their attention by inviting them to these places. Girls who have run away from home to take up dancing and singing in moving picture theatres and cheap vaudeville shows have been led by their stage experience into prostitution. Pictures, imprinted indelibly upon the minds of other girls by scenes portrayed in plays, have caused them to desire the same exciting experiences. One girl who had been very unhappy with her stepmother in her crowded Italian tenement home, after entering upon an immoral life, said: "I took a half day off and went to a show 'Why Girls Go Wrong,' and it made me feel like going wrong too."

Parks and Playgrounds

In the absence of proper lighting facilities and adequate police protection many crimes have been committed in or near

parks and playgrounds. A number of girls have been criminally assaulted by vicious men in these places. Children in the vicinities of some playgrounds have formed themselves into little gangs. In one of these, seven girls, the oldest of whom was fourteen years of age, had been induced to earn money by immoral practices and had been taught to steal. Their girl-leader was virtually a procuress, having introduced five younger children to boys for immoral purposes. After the five young men who had organized the gang were sentenced, three of these little girls were sent to the hospital for treatment of venereal disease. One group, known as the "Black Ribbon Gang," admitted only immoral girls under fourteen. A club of young school boys and girls had as members, girls making money by immoral practices and boys who received their earnings.

Pleasure and passenger boats plying between cities in New York and nearby states have been found to be utilized for immoral purposes. Indecent actions on dimly lighted decks, and the presence of professional prostitutes have given indication of immoral practices. It has also been discovered that state-rooms were occupied several times during a trip of less than twelve hours.

Bad Companions

The example of older prostitutes and immoral women has been a demoralizing influence upon the characters of many young girls. Associating with these women in tenement houses, workshops, and still more frequently in amusement places, girls have heard of the easy life, have seen evidence of fine clothes, and step by step have drifted into prostitution. They have hardly been conscious, at the time, of the power of evil suggestion, yet later they have been able to recognize the source of evil influence. Explanations given by girls include the following: "It's bad friends that advise you"; "I was ruined at twelve or thirteen before I came to this country and then I got in between bad company"; or "I see von odder girls."

As we follow these undisciplined young girls into their broken, crowded and wretched homes; as we see them working all day long in store, kitchen and factory, or making a desperate effort to find employment during the long slack seasons; as we mingle with them and observe the dangers they meet in their normal quest for pleasure, we reproach ourselves that we have allowed them to go so long uncared for and unprotected. We have surrounded them with none of the safeguards which we consider necessary for those who have every opportunity for training and development of character, yet we expect from both the same high standards of moral conduct.

CHAPTER IV

WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC

The most revolting method of bringing unprotected girls into prostitution and exploiting them through it, is the white slave traffic. As used in treaties between different countries and in federal and state legislation, the term implies procuring and transferring girls and women for prostitution. Whether or not they have been previously chaste, whether drawn by promises or forced to submit to prostitution, whether procured by one individual or a group of men working with a community of interest, whether turned over to other procurers, sold or placed in resorts of vice, girls procured and exploited through prostitution are just as truly victims of this hideous trade.

I first realized that procuring for prostitution was a business, as I listened to stories of girls, in the early days of the Night Court. They told of being starved or beaten into submission, of being forced to surrender all of their earnings, of being transferred to different exploiters, and taken from one city or state to another wherever profits were largest. One evening in September, 1907, the presiding magistrate rose from his seat behind the desk, pointed to the rear of the room and said: "I order the doors of the court closed. Let no one leave this room." Excited whispering among reporters, lawyers and clerks stopped at the word of command from the judge. No one moved in the court. The telephone bell rang, but no one stirred to answer it. A few moments before, two girls, sixteen and seventeen years of age, had stood at the bar and had told their story. Early that week they had met two men at the railroad station of a small Massachusetts city and had consented to come to New York "on a lark." They knew none of the dangers before them. The night after they arrived, they were

shown women soliciting on the street and told that they must make money the same way. Threats quieted their objections. They were "shadowed" as they walked up and down Broadway, and when they returned at midnight with only \$4, were cruelly beaten. In spite of the beatings, they were obdurate and declared they would not be prostitutes. They were taken to a parlor house on Twenty-seventh Street the following day, where they were told by the madame that they could not go out, and for three days were subjected to horrible indignities. The night of their appearance in court they had succeeded in making their escape. Fearing that the "tip" might be given to the keeper before warrants could be issued and arrests made, the magistrate had ordered the court room closed. In response to a telephone message from the judge, the captain of the Tenderloin station-house entered the court by way of the prison. Under his direction, officers were dispatched with warrants and were charged to bring everyone in the place. In less than an hour there filed into the court eighteen women inmates of various ages, a colored servant, seven men, and a stout, well-dressed madame. Instead of being discharged immediately as was the usual practice, after several hearings the women inmates were sentenced to the workhouse; the men and the colored servant were released, and the keeper was held for the Grand Jury on the technical charge of abducting a sixteen-year-old girl. To secure evidence of the age of the younger girl, Hannah, I visited the Massachusetts city where both girls had lived and worked. A strict rule against disturbing mill hands made it impossible for me to see Hannah's mother until after six o'clock in the evening. Soon after the whistle had blown for closing the factory, I went again to the top floor of one of the tiny houses in the long row of gloomy brick dwellings belonging to the mill-owner. When I told the care-worn mother about Hannah, she wept bitterly. She corroborated the statement that Hannah was just sixteen years old and consented to come to New York to testify to that fact.

When again I heard the testimony of the girls in court, with regard to methods employed by the resort-keeper in forcing them to submit to prostitution; when I listened to the madame, disclaiming responsibility herself and blaming the procurers, and when I heard the verdict of "guilty" and the sentence imposed upon the keeper, I realized more keenly the meaning of this wretched traffic.

For the sake of financial profit, men trade in the honor and virtue of women, persuade them by words of love or compel them by dastardly acts of violence and ruthlessly exploit them as long as they are able to earn money, only to cast them off later, diseased and demoralized. These men are responsible for the vicious methods employed in procuring and exploiting women and for the wide extent of the traffic, but the public is also responsible for allowing a demand to exist for their broken victims and for failing to crush this trade.

WHO ARE THE TRAFFICKERS?

Persons engaged in this business include resort-keepers, men living wholly or in part on the earnings of vice, and professional procurers. Sometimes through their own efforts, keepers or owners of disorderly houses secure women whom they need for their resorts; more frequently they depend upon others to furnish them. For this they give a fee to the man who acts as agent, pay a definite price according to the girl's age, attractiveness and qualifications, or allow the procurer a percentage of the girl's share of earnings.

Men living on the earnings of one or more women in prostitution, seduce young girls, send them to the streets or place them in resorts, secure patronage for them, and receive the proceeds of their immoral living. Some have only one at a time under their control, others have from three to six women. As soon as one woman loses her earning power through illness, age, or loss of attractiveness, they secure another in her place. They turn easily from one woman to a better "money-maker"

or "add a new girl to the staff"; but they do not give the woman privilege to turn to another man. These men are called by French, *maquereaux*. In this country they are known in the underworld as "lovers" or "pimps," and in newspaper or magazine articles as "cadets." The most vicious taunt that one prostitute can hurl at another is to accuse her of having a "pimp." The word cadet, which has an entirely different significance in connection with military academies, should not be degraded by being applied to these men.

The most active agents in bringing girls into prostitution are procurers. They employ every method to induce or force girls to enter the wretched life; they exploit them personally for profit, or, surrendering ownership, turn them over to others. They import women from foreign countries, send them from one state or territory of the United States to another, and transfer them from city to city. Although having a community of interest with other traffickers and depending upon fellow-procurers in other states and cities to help them in locating one of their girls, they are not banded together in organizations for the purpose of procuring. Most of them work individually, although occasionally three or four belonging to the same gang appear to be closely associated. A procurer in New York, for example, sent girls regularly to men in Paterson, Youngstown, Ohio, and Chicago, and a member of an Italian gang depended upon other members in an adjoining state to help him in placing his women.

These traffickers are of different ages and nationalities. They devote themselves partly to legitimate work or wholly to traffic in women, and frequently belong to the rank of criminals. The majority are young men from nineteen to twenty-five years of age who have begun by controlling one woman, while others are from forty to fifty years of age, who for fifteen or twenty years have combined procuring with managing or owning disorderly resorts. A significant fact is that many of the same forces which bring girls into prostitution have helped to make

these men traffickers. Some of them are the product of a wretched environment and an unfortunate heredity; others are mentally deficient and have lacked all safeguards to keep them from a criminal life.

One of the most notorious of the older traffickers went many years ago from New York State to the middle west. He was arrested for crimes there, but he forfeited his bail and left for South America where he carried on an active trade in women. Later he became the owner of a large number of resorts and a cruel exploiter in New York City. One of his many victims, an ignorant Hungarian girl, "Little Mary," was held a prisoner in a dark cellar of a disorderly house until she submitted to leading an immoral life. She was then sent to the streets in a thin cotton dress, and was so ill-treated, beaten and abused that in less than three years she died. In spite of many arrests, this procurer has always been successful in escaping penalties for, his crimes, and has carried on his inhuman traffic for nearly twenty years.

Nearly all of the older traffickers and many of the younger men are of foreign birth; an increasing number of young men are Americans of foreign parentage. In a group of 218 procurers associated with girls under care at Waverley House, 65 per cent. were of Russian and Italian race; others were American, Irish, German, French, Greek, Polish, Spanish, Bohemian, Scotch and English. The Federal Immigration Commission, in 1909, found that the activity of Jewish procurers in seducing young girls and turning them into prostitution was much greater than the French, whereas the French were more willing to import women who were already familiar with the life. The Commission discovered also that there were "two organizations of importance, one French and the other Jewish, although as organizations they do not import."¹ The activity of federal authorities in enforcing the immigration law of 1907, forbid-

¹ Report of the Immigration Commission on the Importation and Harboring of Women for Immoral Purposes. Senate Doc. 196, page 23.

ding the importation of aliens for prostitution and making harboring and maintaining such persons a crime, resulted in greatly curtailing the work of the *maquereaux*.

Few traffickers have legitimate work except as a cloak to their crimes. Some are ushers in cheap theatres, waiters, bartenders, gamblers or prize fighters; others ostensibly maintain a business or ally themselves with a café, saloon, or pool-room, so that if arrested for living on the earnings of prostitution, they can "prove" lawful means of support.

Investigations of records of these men show that many of them have been arrested and sentenced for serious crimes. Among them are thieves, pickpockets, burglars, and murderers who have served long prison sentences. One man, convicted of compelling a sixteen-year-old girl to solicit on the streets, had been committed to the House of Refuge on Randall's Island and Elmira Reformatory, and had served two terms in Sing Sing. Several importers have been found to have criminal records in Europe.

METHODS OF PROCURING GIRLS

These traffickers resort to every possible means for procuring and enslaving their victims. They obtain them by winning their love and promising to marry them or by having a "fake" or a real marriage ceremony performed; by offering better work, higher wages, fine clothes and diamonds, or a life of ease and luxury; by advertising in newspapers for workers or securing them through employment agencies; and when all other means fail, by resorting to force and violence. They meet young girls in dance halls, moving picture theatres and amusement parks, in or near places of work, at employment agencies, in furnished-room houses, at boat landings and at railroad stations.

Promise of Marriage

The most frequent method is to win the affection of a girl and promise to marry her. After a short time the procurer in-

duces her to leave her home or place of work and live with him in a furnished room. Then he persuades her or forces her to enter prostitution. Having forsaken her family and friends, she more readily yields to his will. She constantly dreads exposure and disgrace and fears that her family will discover her manner of life. Often in a few weeks or months, she finds that she does not care to marry her seducer.

Fake Marriage

“Fake marriage” is used by procurers in gaining control over girls. Either a friend reads a marriage service, or the girl is led to believe that a license is a marriage certificate. Defenseless immigrant girls, who do not know laws and customs of a new country, are exploited easily in this way. Girls who would not consent to live with men without being married to them, are by this means brought under the power of procurers. For nearly a year an Italian girl, Angelina Martella, had thought that she was married to Callandrio. Not knowing that there was anything else to do, she silently endured his dreadful threats and beatings. She had come to join her father in America; but when she heard, two weeks after her arrival, of her mother’s death in far-away Italy, she changed her plans. She remembered that soon after her father had sailed for America with a woman who had been a close friend of the family, her mother had threatened to kill herself. Now that this threat had turned into a grim reality, Angelina looked upon her father as a murderer, and resolved never to see him again. This fifteen-year-old Italian girl was adrift, alone, in a big foreign city. In a cigarette factory in New Jersey, where she secured work, she met an old man who offered to marry her; when she refused, he sold her to Pietro Callandrio for \$50. She married Callandrio, as she supposed, and lived with him for nearly a year. One morning when Angelina went to the butcher shop, the owner asked her why she was crying. She told him how her husband had hit her. “He bad man. He not you husband—you marriage

lines no goot," she was told. That night Callandrio admitted that he had not married her. When she declared she would leave him, he beat her again and threatened to cut her face. Then he told her of the life she was to lead. He compelled her to go to Boston, Albany, Paterson, and other cities, to earn money in immoral resorts. Finally he brought her to Atlantic City, where he had a young girl and two older women giving him \$80 a week from their earnings of prostitution. Callandrio continued to threaten and beat Angelina, and once, when she offered to help the younger girl get away, he locked her all night in a cellar as punishment. Hearing the screams, an officer broke into the house and arrested the procurer. During the trial, Callandrio continued to threaten the intimidated girl by signs she had learned to read. As she sat in the witness chair, giving testimony against him, he fastened his fierce eyes upon her and put the forefinger of his right hand between his teeth as if to bite it. That was the threat of death. Angelina turned pale and shuddered with fear. Yet in a few moments, she went on with her story. But this fear did not leave her, nor did she feel free from her bondage until Callandrio's sentence had been pronounced—a fine of \$10,000 and ten to twenty-eight years in prison. Even then the words of Callandrio rang in her ears, "If ever you go against me, the gang will kill you."

Another procurer, named Kerber, one of a group of men living by trading in women, pretended to marry seventeen-year-old Monica Cason in Panama, after which he induced her to come to New York. While searching for his own young wife in the segregated district of Colon, a Russian had heard about Kerber's plan and informed us that a trafficker had brought a new girl to the city "and in two or three weeks, as soon as she left the hospital, he would have her on the town." Monica had worked hard in Colon after her father deserted the family, to help her mother support the younger children. With \$700 won in a lottery, she had purchased a news-stand—now the family's only source of income. Kerber met her there and after three or

four days asked her to marry him. He strangely left for New York the day they were married and telegraphed Monica to come on the next boat. Yet Monica could not believe that he had deceived her. As we talked with her in the hospital, she said reassuringly: "Get my trunk and you will find the paper he gave me." We followed her directions. The search revealed that the supposed certificate was only a marriage license. When we showed the license to Monica and explained it to her, she said, "We went to court and got that paper which I thought was a paper of marriage. How could I know it was only a license? He said it was all we should have." After Monica learned the truth—that Kerber had only pretended to marry her, that he was already married to a keeper of a disorderly resort in Pittsburgh, and that he was responsible for her disease, she was willing to give evidence against him. A decoy letter sent to Kerber's "hang out" in New York, brought him from Pittsburgh where he had gone to join his fellow procurers. He was arrested by federal officers, on the charge of bringing a girl from Panama to New York for the purpose of prostitution, and is now serving a sentence of two-and-a-half years in Atlanta penitentiary.

Marriage

The institution of marriage means to many procurers nothing more than a better tool to gain control over the bodies and souls of their victims. They employ it to drive away scruples of innocent girls, to bring them more completely under subjection and to serve as a protection to themselves. Without compunction they marry more than one woman. A Russian girl, Anna Poswik, declared it had been impossible to prevent Abe, her procurer, from treating her as he willed, because she was married to him. When I asked if she would make a complaint against her husband, she said: "He say I married mit him, I can't do him not'ing. But las' night he tear my marriage lines an' say I'm no more married mit 'im. Now can I hev him 'rested?" When Anna refused to solicit, and demanded some

of the money he had saved from her earnings of prostitution, she had been cast out of the house. Now, her illness and inability to earn "big money" made him willing to relax his control over her. Several years before, Anna had met him at a "society picnic in a park," and had consented to marry him. Instead of taking her to a new home in Cincinnati, as he promised, he had put her in a disorderly house in Chicago. Later, to increase the earnings, he took her to El Paso, Los Angeles, Phoenix, Tucson, and to South America. To help allay her fears and strengthen his power over her, he had married her after leaving Chicago. Each time she tried to leave a house where her husband had placed her, she was beaten and threatened and told that letters would be written to her parents at home, or that she would be "reported back to the ole country."

"All I suffer von him!" cried Anna. "He used to beat me mit a jack club an' give it to me in de head. Den I tell him if he don't take me back to New York, I jump in de river. I vas just like a slave. He handles mit girls for de las' ten years. Even his sister says he is a slave hantler. Always he has mit him a bunch of bad mens dat do dat bad business." Anna's spirit had always rebelled against the life she was leading, but each moment she had felt the yoke fasten more tightly upon her. "Now I have a bad name, no one look on me," she said. "It's easy to go in but it's a small door to go out. Always dey look on de girl. Would it not be better if dey look on de mens dat put de girls in de business?"

Advertisements for Workers

Another means by which conscienceless traffickers obtain young girls is by advertising for servants, waitresses, companions, chorus girls, or workers in massage or manicure parlors. Advertisements are worded carefully so as not to convey their hidden intent. Through newspapers in foreign languages they reach newly arrived immigrants in tenements; through weekly and daily papers they make their way to homes in small cities

and even to remote country districts. An advertisement appeared in a New York morning paper—"Several young ladies wanted." Three girls eager for work went early to apply for positions. One girl was only seventeen years of age, and another was a young married woman who had struggled hard to support her fatherless child. They entered the door marked "Massage Parlor," and were summoned one by one into an inner room. The keeper explained to each just what her duties would be and how much money could be made by "entertaining swell men." These honest working girls were horrified at the proposals, and later, when they met on the street, decided to go to the station-house and tell their experience. As a result, the manager of the massage parlor was arrested. When I saw her standing at the bar, I recognized her as having been in court many times before on the charge of keeping a disorderly house.

Several advertisements in German newspapers, stating that waitresses were required, had for their purpose the securing of girls for prostitution in resorts connected with small coffee houses, cafés, and drinking places. One applicant was told that she could make fifty to sixty dollars a week, and in addition, commissions on drinks. Another girl, engaged as waitress at five dollars a week, learned in a few hours how she could increase her wages to four or five dollars a day. When brought to Waverley House, after her first day in the restaurant, she said: "I had been out of work for a month. My room-rent was three weeks behind, and—yes, I admit it—I had made up my mind to stay and do like the other girls did."

Employment Agencies

Some employment agencies are guilty of placing girls with procurers or sending them to disorderly resorts. Without regard to the dangerous surroundings, they send young colored women as servants to parlor houses, and immigrant girls to disorderly cafés, massage parlors and saloon-hotels. Although

referring girls to notorious places, they seek to evade responsibility by disclaiming knowledge of their character. Several immigrant girls were sent to a disorderly sanitarium before sufficient evidence was secured to close the resort. A young German girl, Julia Lombach, was offered by the superintendent the privilege of learning massage, wages of \$25 a month, and told she would earn \$75 in tips for night work. Julia had worked as nurse maid and servant during a year and a half in America, but she had been ambitious to become a governess or nurse. Here she saw her wonderful opportunity. After two or three days in the sanitarium, she was shocked to find that men patronizing the place were intoxicated, and that nurses were expected to be immoral. At first, Julia refused, and allowed other nurses to be called; but soon barriers were broken down and she was leading a life of prostitution. Four weeks of this revolting life were followed by three months in the hospital for medical treatment. Although the responsibility of the employment agent could not be legally established, Julia knew him to be guilty and declared: "I mad at that employment man. He know where he send me. I not pay him for getting me that job. I tear up his seven dollar bill. He ruin my whole life."

Another employment bureau placed an Austrian girl, Bella Levine, in the custody of an Italian procurer. For three hours one morning, Bella waited in an East Third Street office with more than fifty other girls and men. Looking at Bella, when finally her turn came, the woman in charge of the agency shook her head. She remembered that Bella had given birth to a child less than a year before. She said she had no housework place for her, but would introduce her to a young man who would help her to make more money. "It's all right, for you got a baby and are already spoiled," the employment agent explained to Bella in her native tongue. Two days later, the Italian procurer took Bella to an immoral resort. When she rebelled at the life, he pointed a pistol at her and threatened

her. Evidence was sufficient to take away the license from the employment agency and to convict the procurer. On the charge of compulsory prostitution, he was sentenced to from ten to twenty years plus a fine of \$10,000.

Promise of Fine Clothes and High Wages

Ignorant or venturesome girls who accept offers from men to take them to New York or other large cities, where they can "earn higher wages, dress swell and have diamonds," know nothing of the terrible life which often awaits them. "But I ain't seen no fine clothes or diamonds, and I couldn't think he'd treat me like this," has been the cry of many a broken-spirited girl after awakening to her real condition. The man had played upon her ambition, love of pretty things, and the desire in every girl's heart to see more of the world and to try her fortune in a big city.

Among the many young women lured by false promises, was a Portuguese girl of fifteen years, Violet Gray. She had been brought from her home in Fall River by a colored porter on a boat plying between Rhode Island and New York. "We girls always used to go down Sunday afternoon to listen to music and get samples of soap and powder and tooth-paste which the porters would give us," explained Violet. "When this one said he would pay our fares and we could earn lots more money than we did in the mill, without working half so hard, and have nice hats and silk dresses too, we thought it would be grand to come." A fourteen-year-old companion, who had started with Violet, became frightened and begged to go back. Her childish face, short dresses, and braided hair revealed so clearly her youth, that the procurer allowed her to return. She left at Newport and took the next boat back to Fall River. When Violet reached New York, she was introduced to a colored woman who took her to a disorderly flat. During the few days she remained there, she was sent "on calls" to other apartments in the same house, and thus initiated into prostitution.

A report that Violet's father had come to New York in search of his daughter, alarmed the keeper of the flat and caused her to send Violet to a furnished room. She feared trouble if the girl were discovered in her custody. A woman of the streets begged me to help "a little kid who was up against it and was surely going out that night to hustle." Within a few hours we found Violet. The child had no money and had not eaten for two days. She eagerly accepted the offer to provide for her and to send her back to her home in Fall River.

Another girl, attracted by the promise of work with high wages, was sixteen-year-old Marie. When she came from the country in search of employment to earn money for her sick mother, she met at the railroad station in Albany a man who offered to take her to a good position. After reaching the house and hearing the conversation, she was afraid, but even then she did not comprehend the full meaning. Later she was given a silk kimona, and told what her duties would be. When the first patron entered at three o'clock that afternoon, the bell was rung for "sitting in company." Marie heard the madame say that a higher price would be charged for the girl who was "young and new," and trembled when she found that she had been chosen. Face to face with entrance upon the life, Marie refused, and begged the man to take her out of the place. Then the bargaining patron turned rescuer. The keeper, unwilling to let the girl go, told Marie that she would be sent "to hustle on the streets" and that she would get arrested and committed to prison. In spite of the madame's inducements and threats, Marie went with the stranger to New York. He took her at once to his own home and asked his sister to help her. That same night, Marie was brought by the sister to Waverley House. When we found the story was true, I arranged for Marie to return to Albany as complainant against the procurer and the resort-keeper. My assistant accompanied her to Albany, secured warrants at the court, and had a police officer assigned to make the arrests. Marie did not know the number of the house,

but when she reached the street lined with disorderly resorts, she was able to identify it. At Marie's request, the keeper took her and the officer to get clothes from Marie's trunk in the storeroom. Not realizing that she was helping to convict herself, the madame admitted that Marie had been in her house. The procurer could not be found, but the keeper pleaded guilty and was sentenced to the House of Correction.

Force and Violence

Nothing more inhuman and brutal can be imagined than the methods of violence employed by procurers in obtaining girls whom they cannot secure in less forcible ways. They drug them, criminally assault them, starve them into submission and threaten to cut or kill them. A young girl, Bertha, was compelled by an Italian procurer to leave her home, and was drugged, assaulted, and forced into prostitution. He had flirted with Bertha and her girl friend one Sunday afternoon at an amusement park, and in spite of her protests, had accompanied Bertha to her home in Brooklyn. Twice when he came to her house and invited her to go to the theatre, she refused. Again he entered the hallway of the tenement where she lived, and sent word by a small boy that he wanted her to go to the theatre that evening. Bertha came down and told him not to come to her house again. At first he urged her, then he declared that she must go with him. "When he held the pistol right up to my face and said, 'I'll shoot you if you holler!' I was afraid of my life," said Bertha. "First he claimed that he loved me and promised me a diamond ring; then he said if I didn't come with him, I'd be a dead one and never be able to speak. He threatened he'd kill my mother too, if I hollered." He took her to a saloon-hotel and threatened her again when she refused to take the drink he had ordered. Her will was overruled, and she became dazed and conscious of nothing until the next morning. Humiliated and disgraced, she would not have

dared to return home then, even if she had been permitted to do so. Obeying the procurer's command, she sent a telegram to her mother, saying she was married. As a sign that this story was true, she wore the brass ring which he gave her. Two days later she went with him to a furnished-room house, and there submitted to earning money by prostitution. Another Italian stood in front of the house soliciting patronage, sent men up to her room, and collected the money. After this second procurer had been arrested and sentenced, and Bertha had been released on probation, she said: "I stayed in that awful place for nearly a week and I was praying to get out when the officer came in and got me. The only thing that I regret is that the man who put me in that life didn't get caught and punished. He might harm twenty more girls like he did me."

For three days, another procurer kept sixteen-year-old Martha Brown locked in a room guarded by several of his "pals," with nothing to eat or drink. He was determined to starve her into submission. He criminally assaulted her, beat her and threatened to kill her. She was shown how to accost men, and told that when she made money she could "have to eat." Hoping that she could thereby escape, she consented to try soliciting. She said: "When I started to run, a feller caught me and said I belonged to Charlie and took me back to him. That night I got an awful beating and he locked me in again, with nothing to eat. The next day I felt awful faint, and he gave me a piece of cake and a glass of soda. He said I needed to be hung for not inaking money and the best thing he could do was to put me in a house." That same night when the procurer came back to the house intoxicated and left the door unguarded, Martha stole the key from his pocket and made her escape. She ran almost breathless to her sister's house and there told the story about her abductor—a man well-known to the police.

In spite of many stories of forcible methods of procuring which we have verified, I am convinced that the number of girls pro-

cured in this way is not a large percentage of the whole. When it is possible to secure girls by other means, men will not resort to the most dangerous way. I have been unable to get authoritative information about a single case of the use of poisoned hypodermic needles or of forcible seizure of innocent girls on railroad trains or public thoroughfares. There has undoubtedly been exaggeration about the white slave traffic in some of the newspaper accounts and in the moving picture films which have also exploited vice. Yet the facts in authentic cases are too hideous to be told. Even if not employed as frequently in actually procuring the girl, fear and threats and violence are used constantly by these desperate men in keeping control over their girls and in preventing them from leaving them or giving evidence against them.

METHODS OF EXPLOITATION

Those of us who have listened to the heart-cries of a broken-spirited girl who declared that she would rather face death itself than let her mother know she had been deceived by a faithless lover, who have watched her on the witness stand tremble like a leaf when she caught the sign which was a death-threat, or who has seen the deep razor gash or bullet-wound inflicted by an angry or jealous procurer, understand some of the methods by which these creatures exploit their victims and hold them absolutely under control. Every possible means is used to break the girl's will so completely, and to accomplish her moral enslavement so effectually, that she will abandon all thought of the possibility of escaping from the life. Only when this has been done can she be trusted to give over all her earnings, and not to run away or give evidence against her procurer. Relying upon affection, promise of protection, and upon fear and threats, these traffickers accomplish the entire submission of their victims and make effective their exploitation.

The Breaking-in System

By "breaking in" the girl and using compulsion when necessary, the procurer gains control over her mind and will. He instructs her what to do and say, how to avoid arrest, to give false information about her age, address and length of time in America, and to deny that she is associated with any man. He demands a large part of or all her earnings. In order to see that she does not escape while soliciting in the street and to know the amount of money she has earned, he secures a "watcher" or serves himself in that capacity. It is disastrous to try to deceive by reserving part of the earnings; if her act is discovered, a beating is sure to follow. If the procurer finds it difficult to force the girl into prostitution, or if the attempt appears too dangerous, he places her in a house or turns her over to another man. The usual result of this "breaking-in" system is that the woman does not dare give evidence against her procurer or leave him. The exploitation of an Italian girl, Rosalinda, shows the methods used by many procurers in "breaking in" their girls. In her own words, Rosalinda's story is as follows:

"I come to this country when I fourteen years old with my mother and father and brothers and sisters. My father go back to Italy three years ago when he sick. I work as operator and earn \$3 a week. Then I get \$6 and for two years I make \$9. I walk with my friend Florence who live in same street and we meet Frank Marino drinking soda. He ask me if I have a drink and I say 'No,' and he say, 'Come on, don't be bashful, take a drink.' After we take a drink he say, 'I take you girls to moving pictures.' I say, 'No, I can't.' He say, 'Oh, come on; I own a moving picture place; it do you no harm to go.' We went into a place after a while. When we come out, he say, 'You come again to-morrow; I take you again.' I say, 'No, I can't go, my mother would not like.' He walk home with me and I say to him, 'If you want to know me, come in; here's the house; I live here.' He say, 'No, you meet me on Wednesday

and I take you again to moving pictures.' I told him 'No.' He say, 'Yes, you come.'

"Florence say, 'You go; maybe he's your luck; you get married. He seem like a nice fellow.' So I say, 'You go with me and I go. I afraid to go alone.' Wednesday we go again and I not tell my mother. Saturday I go with him again and Florence too. He introduce her so she had man, called Jim, to take her. When we come out he say, 'I take you now to see my mother and sisters on Charles Street.' I not want to go; I was afraid, but he say, 'Florence and Jim go too; my mother and sisters want to see you.'

"So we go and he want me to go upstairs and I say, 'No, I afraid.' He say, 'Oh, you have a bad mind; you think bad. My mother is upstairs waiting for you, come on.' I step into the hall and he shut the door and Florence outside. Then he say, 'Come upstairs; don't have such a bad mind,' and I say, 'Why not Florence come too?' and he say, 'Oh, Jim got a key, he come.' We get upstairs, he push me in a room and lock the door. He say, 'Now I got you here I do what I want,' and I say 'No,' and I try to get out and I can't. Then he takes out a pistol and hold it right up against my ear. He know I was a good girl, and I say, 'Are you going to marry me? If you don't, I kill myself. I will jump out the window.'

"I go home to my mother and I tell her. She faint. I most crazy and she too. She says, 'He must marry you and your brother must not know or he kill him.' We are a respectable family and my father he has property. I see Frank after this and tell him he must marry me now that he knows I a good girl, and he say he would and on next Tuesday we go to City Hall. He takes out license and we was married by some man there. Then he takes me to a furnished room. All the time we was in this room he just bring me things to eat like crackers, cheese and a little wine. He twice try to make me go on the streets and the first time he beat me and pull my hair and knock me around; he show me a pistol 'till I faint on

the floor and then he throw water over me and tell me not to be so foolish.

"One day he take me out with his cousin Jim and his wife Rosie. She's bad, she goes on the streets. She say, 'Why don't you do what he want you? Look at me! I have good clothes,' and she showed me a diamond pin. 'I get that by doing this bad business.' I say, 'I go to my mother if he not want to take care of me, or I go to work, and Frank go to work and we have rooms. We buy a little furniture. We not need things so fine.' And my husband, he say, 'What you look like with this kind of clothes.' I say, 'My mother buy me this suit, it good enough.'

"One day he comes in, he bring me a little short dress and red garters and big red bows for my hair. He say, 'You put on.' I say 'No, I not put on. I shamed.' Then he slap me and beat me and put pistol to my face and I go 'way from him and I go down to Carmine Street to Mary, who is a good woman and some relation to him, and I tell her all about it. She say, 'My God! Is he so bad?' She send for him and say, 'What you mean when you get a good girl? What for you want to put her in this bad life?' And he say, 'Oh, I don't want to, I just crazy,' and he say, 'Come home, I not ask you any more.'

"We go home and his cousin Jim is there and we have coffee to drink and he put something in the coffee. And bye and bye my head go 'round and I stupid and he say, 'Come out in the air,' and I go out and get on the car and we go some place on the Battery in a house and he leave me there. Pretty soon a man come and he say, 'Why you not undressed? and I say, 'I not undress. I not bad girl. I married. I not want to be bad.' And he say, 'Then you get out of my house. I not want to get into trouble,' and I go back. I afraid to go home because I get married without my brother seeing the man I marry.

"Then Frank say, 'I got work in a barber-shop, come.' We go down to Houston and Mott Street and there he get ticket and money and then we go to Gran Central, and get on train.

This was Wednesday of the next week when we married. It was six o'clock and we rode and rode and it gets to be nine o'clock and I say, 'Where we go? How long it takes?' He say, 'We going to Chicago.' Then I cry, 'Now I know you put me in the bad life.' He say, 'You make noise on the train, I kill you.' We get to Chicago and he take me to a house where a man live, his name is Nino Sacco. There he show me razors and pistols and say, 'You not do what I tell you, you be dead.' One day I get out, but that man Sacco, he come after me and take me back. Another time I get out of the house, but every time they catch me and take me back. Then I get sick and cannot do business, and they say, 'She no good,' and my husband he write to my brother and say, 'You want you sister back, you be on Bleeker Street in drug store, and I give you back you sister. You bring \$100 and I give to you your sister.'

"Then he bring me to New York. He say to me, 'You put police on me you be dead girl. I not 'fraid for myself, I can get free. I know how. I have had other girls; but you try and I kill you.' Then we met my brother. He gave to Frank \$100 and he took me home. I wait two days, then I tell police. Frank he get arrested, and then we found he had another wife. I was only one month in Chicago, but my life is spoiled and my family ruined and I sick and can't work."

Rosalinda's story was true. The contract drawn up by a notary, providing for delivering Rosalinda in New York by payment of \$100 was discovered, and copies of telegrams were secured. As a result, Marino and Sacco were prosecuted by the federal authorities for violation of the White Slave Traffic Act and sentenced to five years in prison.

Fear and Threats

Threats cause many girls to endure the treatment inflicted by procurers. Instructions about leaving or giving evidence against their masters, are reinforced by threats to expose the girls by writing to their parents, to have them deported or sent

to prison or "beaten up by the gang," to cut their faces, throw them into the river or to shoot them. These desperate men boast of their ability to shoot and kill with impunity, and often are able to give practical demonstration of this. They hold up as an example a woman who has paid, by death, the penalty of being a "squealer." Soon after Grace Walker had given evidence before the Grand Jury in New York against a procurer who brought a young woman to her house, she was killed by explosion of a bomb in her apartment. Only a few days before, she had told me frankly the story and declared that she intended to tell the entire truth in court. Her death resulted in utterly baffling the police and in putting fear into the hearts of many girls. Another young woman who threatened to complain against her procurer who had followed her from Chicago, was lured into the fields near Bridgeport, Connecticut, and ruthlessly shot. Her murderer was never apprehended. Such tragedies are utilized by procurers as a means of intimidating girls under their control.

A German girl, held by fear and threats of her procurer, was seventeen-year-old Greta. She was brought to Waverley House one night by a man who had seen her on the street crying, and had offered to help her. She told freely of her wretched life with the procurer who had beaten and cut her. Pointing to a bleeding gash in her leg, she said, "Here's where he stabbed me. He didn't mean to put it in my leg—he wanted to put the knife through my heart. He got frightened when he seen I lost my breath and got stiff and he said, 'If you cry, I'll stick it through your heart. Give me \$50 an' I'll leave you go, an' not bother you no more.' I told him 'I ain't got \$50 an' I'll not go on the street to make it.' He says, 'If you don't give me \$50 I'll cut your face up.' Oh, he's got the heart to do anything! Often he threatened to shoot me if I ever said a word against him an' I know he meant what he said. Always, he had one of his friends watching me, and they'd squeal on me all the time. They'd know everywhere I went, an' telephone to him an' say,

'Joe, your girl is in Grand Street Theatre,' or some other place. I knew the whole bunch used to steal, and once they knocked a man down and killed him and robbed him. But somehow they never got caught. When they were broke they always would say they'd go out and pick somebody's pocket at night.

"He made me go on the street and if I didn't bring in enough money he'd beat me and hit me," continued Greta. "I'm black and blue still from the way he kicked me. He said he was hard up and would put me in a bad house where I could earn \$100 a week. He tried two or three houses, but they said I was too young. But Miss Fannie took me in, and said, 'Sure, such a young girl as you can make \$150 a week.' The first night was a raid and all the girls dressed and was going down the fire escape till Miss Fannie said: 'Never mind.' I seen the detectives on the stairs and Miss Fannie hand them money, but I don't know how much it was. 'All right, old lady,' one of 'em said, 'we'll not bother you again this season.' Then all the girls went back to work. A few days later, I had an argument with her and Joe brought me away to a furnished room. He took all the money I made and I didn't get enough to eat. I had no money or nothin' to eat this morning when I left him, and I didn't know what to do. I had this awful pain in my leg and the tears happened to come to my eyes."

Soon after meeting the procurer, Greta, at his command, had sent this letter to her mother:

"Dear Mama:

"I am writing you a few lines letting you know I am living yet. I am making a living for myself. I was travelling all over the world with a big musical comedy of seventy-five people.

"I am making \$20 a week. I have swell clothes and I got quite some jewelry. I have a pair of little diamond earings. I have a hat with a big willow plume. Dear Mama, if you seen me you wouldn't believe it was me. I have done good. A great big success. I have a nice feller. He is a Jewish boy.

But Mama, he comes from a very rich family. He treats me just like a queen. He buys me everything I want. Dear Mama I am coming home pretty soon if you want me to. Mama I am going to get married to this feller first, and then I'll come home.

"Greta."

The procurer thought by this means to prevent search being instituted for Greta, and later, when she refused to comply with his commands, threatened to tell her mother that the story was false.

In spite of fear and threats, Greta told the story in court which resulted in the procurer's conviction. But the sentence was very short—only six months in a reformatory. After leaving the court, Greta said, "The judge told Joe if he had come before another judge he'd have got ten years. Why didn't he give him ten years? I know he'll kill me sure when he gets out again." This sentence for such a serious crime, was proved to be illegal, and was changed to a year in the penitentiary. Soon after his release, this procurer was again found guilty of compelling another girl, sixteen years old, to enter prostitution, and was sentenced for five years in Sing Sing.

The power of the gang in controlling women is shown by the success of its leaders in compelling them to do their will. Two young women, Myrtle R. and Barbara H., after giving evidence against three gangsters, were so intimidated that they recanted all their testimony and were drawn back again under the control of the gang. For some time they had been associated with members of the gang and had been earning money for them by prostitution. Doyle, who had vowed vengeance upon the gang-leader, Madden, for stealing Myrtle away, was shot and killed in a saloon on the west side of New York City by two of Madden's men. The night of the killing, Barbara sat with a sailor lad at a table in the rear of the saloon, heard the shots fired, and when she ran from the saloon, saw Madden across the street, with his cap drawn over his eyes and his hands in his

sweater pockets. Later she joined Myrtle and Madden in the restaurant which was the "hang-out" of the gang. Myrtle went with Madden that night to a flat in West Thirtieth Street, heard him tell how he had ordered his men to kill Doyle, and later listened to the story of the murder as told by the gunmen to their chief. At first Myrtle was unwilling to tell the truth, declaring that she would be murdered if she did. Before the final trial, however, she had changed her mind. In spite of threats and piercing glances of gangsters, she told the true story on the witness stand. When the lawyer for the gunmen questioned her severely, she explained: "I've gone back to my church and my religion, and I've made up my mind to tell the truth." Conviction and sentence of the three men soon followed. The two gunmen were sentenced to 13 and 18 years, and the gang leader, Madden, to from 10 to 20 years. With the loss of its leader, the gang feared a loss of prestige and power. Threats constantly reached the two young women that they would be killed and that gunmen had been offered \$150 to shoot them. They complained of this to the District Attorney and were sent out of the city. In a short time, however, the gang had gained control over them, had taken them away from their homes, and had made them sign affidavits retracting all the testimony by which they had sent the gunmen to prison. The young women declared that persons interested in prosecuting the men had made up the story, coached them in it, and threatened them if they refused to tell it. This was a desperate effort to free the powerful gang leader from his long prison sentence. But the plot was doomed to failure. So clearly was the deception seen by the judge, that he denied the motion for a new trial for Madden, exonerated the prosecutors, and ordered that the two young women be charged with perjury.

Promise of Protection

Another bond holding girls under the power of a procurer is desire for protection. He promises to guard the girl and pre-

vent her from being arrested or imprisoned; he declares that he "stands in" with police and can purchase protection; he tells of "strong pulls" with judges and all-powerful politicians. When she is arrested, he demonstrates his usefulness by getting a lawyer or a bondsman for her, paying her fine, or in case of long sentence, by appeal to a higher court. The girl fails to realize that he is paying the fine with her money, or that in seeking her release from a long workhouse term, he is computing the amount she could earn during the period, to see if it exceeds the lawyer's fee. If it does, he will work to have her freed. When she sees other girls under similar circumstances "sitting in prison, with no one to turn a finger to help them," proof of the value of her friend is given.

Affection

As procurers count upon winning a girl's affection to bring her into prostitution, they depend upon it as one of the surest means of keeping her under control and continuing their power over her. Often in the first instance, her love has been as true, as pure, and as beautiful as that which is in the power of any woman to give, and it has continued, even though the object of it has been wretched and unworthy. Although realizing that her betrayer has shamefully wronged her, she clings to him, and loves him, often until all power of caring seems deadened. It is almost impossible for a girl, still devoted to her deceiver, to realize that he feigns affection in order to exploit her for gain. Occasionally, with overwhelming evidence, a girl does awaken to a realization of this. A country girl, Ellen Thompson, whose procurer had received \$25 for placing her in a disorderly house in Albany, had never doubted his love until she found that he had induced her to return to New York under false pretenses, claiming that he was working and would support her. After writing many letters, asking for money and telling her to remain in Albany because she could earn more money there, he sent the following letter:

"Dear Sweetheart Ellen:

"I am working now and I got a pretty good job. I want you to come to New York, as I am lonesome without you, as you know I want to get a place where you and I can stay together, you can do whatever you want either go to work as a waitress or do the other, but I would like to have you work as a waitress. If you do not want to work, why you can stay home as I am got a good job and can keep you. I got a fine position making \$18 a week and I guess we can live on that and enjoy ourselves.

"Everything is pretty lively now and I know you are anxious to come to New York. You don't know how lonesome I am without you. I suppose you are getting along over there the best way you can.

"Now don't forget what I write here. I will expect you here by Monday night, and you can call for me at the address below, as I do not know just when you will get to New York, I guess about 8 o'clock. Now dear don't fail to do this if you don't you know that I will be sore.

"Having no more to write at present until I see you I remain,

"Your Sweetheart Harry"

"Kisses for you 1,000,000."

When Ellen reached New York and met Harry Wayland at his Second Avenue "hang-out," she learned that he was only "bluffing" when he said he had work, and that he had arranged for her to enter a disorderly resort. A quarrel which followed led to the arrest of both. In Night Court, Ellen told me of her love for Wayland and of her confidence in him, but her trust had been rudely shattered that night.

Many girls do not come to their senses so quickly. Even after their procurers have repeatedly deceived them, have enslaved other women, and have served prison sentences for most atrocious crimes, some girls return to them voluntarily and continue their wretched association. Without question they give over all their earnings. One evening as I walked up Broadway, a

woman of the streets, whom I had formerly known in the Night Court, greeted me, and as we talked together, said: "It's a shame how many girls get stuck on a man and give every penny to him. Some men have five or six, and they do nothing but bleed 'em for the sake of having plenty for automobile rides and gambling. There's Kid H—with six women. Not one of them would squeal on him. Come with me and I'll prove what a bunch he's got." A few moments later, keeping me on her right, out of full view, she slipped her arm into that of a young Russian girl, and said, "What, out again to-night! Say, but you're a fool to give that loafer all you make. I see myself giving up my hard-earned cash." "Don't tell me I'm a fool," was the answer. "I know it and I'm going to quit it soon. I give him a hundred dollars last week and I've got nothin' out of it for myself. Sure he's got Kittie and Rosie and the rest, but what of that? He won't let me down any easier. Gee, I can't waste time like this! So long!" said the Russian girl, as she hastened down the street alone.

When we see how willingly some girls give their earnings to these degraded men and refuse to leave them even when good opportunities appear, we must conclude that frequently the association rests on the fact of sex attraction or a semblance of real affection. Returning after weary hours on the street, and from debasing association with men, such a girl is glad to have someone to greet her, who at least occasionally pretends affection. Her devotion to her "lover" may be explained partly by her maternal instinct to lavish care upon someone, and partly by her sense of gratification with the presence of a person to whom she feels superior. Cast off by friends and degraded in her own estimation, she is still far above the wretched associate who lives upon her earnings. Then, too, though far from the ideal she had pictured, and much distorted, the relationship enables her to have something that stands for a "home."

As the result of these methods employed by cunning procurers in instructing, threatening and intimidating girls, and in

holding them by their desire for protection and the power of love, efforts to release them from the life and to induce them to give evidence against their exploiters, are made difficult and sometimes dangerous.

EXTENT OF THE TRAFFIC

This traffic in women is far-reaching. It spreads from city to city, state to state, and country to country.

Investigations initiated in 1908 by the Bureau of Immigration of the United States and the Immigration Commission showed that large numbers of women were being brought from other countries to America for the purpose of prostitution. They come by way of Canada, San Francisco, and Seattle, but chiefly through the port of New York. With rigid enforcement of better laws since 1907, a serious check has been put upon this kind of immigration. While in the year 1907, only one alien "procuring or attempting to bring in prostitutes or females for immoral purposes," was debarred and none was deported; in 1914, 254 procurers and five men living on earnings of prostitutes were excluded, and 154 procurers and 155 persons living on the earnings of prostitutes were deported. During the year 1915, when immigration was decreased, 192 procurers and seven persons supported by prostitution were excluded, and 101 procurers and 58 persons living on the earnings of prostitution were expelled. Prior to 1907, nine persons importing women were prevented from entering the country; from 1908 to 1915, inclusive, 1,435 were excluded. In 1907, 18 women coming to the United States for immoral purposes were excluded; from 1908 to 1915, 2,317 such women were debarred, 380 in 1914, and 291 in 1915. In 1914, 392 immoral women were deported; in 1915, 204 were expelled. Criminal prosecutions were instituted during 1915 against persons importing women for immoral purposes in 66 cases, in 53 of which convictions were secured. The increase in numbers does not mean that the

traffic has greatly increased during this period, but that the United States has been more nearly doing its duty.

Yet there is need for still greater vigilance. Only when immigration officials have the heartiest co-operation and support of courts, organizations, and private individuals in detecting offenders, will they be able to perform the greatest service. The need of co-operation was clearly shown by an incident which occurred in one of the New York City magistrates' courts in 1909. Two women who were carrying on prostitution in a tenement house, and two men charged with living on their earnings, were arrested in less than a week after landing in America. They had come from Brussels, sailing in the second cabin of one of the finest steamships. Both girls carried cards, signed by the prefect of police in Brussels, as permits to practice prostitution in that city. When after two or three hearings, I realized that there was likelihood that the cases would be dismissed by the court, I reported the complete facts to immigration officials. On this information, landings of the four persons were verified and warrants for their arrest requested from Washington. Before the warrants arrived, the two men had been discharged and had escaped to Canada. In spite of insulting remarks from defending counsel about notifying immigration officials and loud protests against the re-arrest of the women, they were taken in custody by government officers as they left the court, and soon after were deported. Two weeks later, through efforts of United States Immigration officials, the procurers were apprehended in Canada, and at the request of the Belgian government, returned to Brussels to be tried for crimes committed there. When I realize that in that instance no court official, except myself, considered it a duty to report such a case to the Immigration Department, and when I remember the strenuous objections to my action, I know that many influences conspire to prevent deportation of persons involved in this international traffic. For the purpose of lessening the extent of such trade, every hospital, public organization, official and court should

assume the obligation of reporting cases in which action is merited by the federal government.

In addition to traffic between countries, there has been trading between one state and another and between territories of the United States and individual states. Women have been shipped to Alaska, Porto Rico, Hawaii and to Panama. During the period of construction of the Panama Canal, it was known that in spite of the vigilance of government officers, women were taken or sent by procurers in New York City to immoral resorts in Colon. Several well-known procurers transferred their activities temporarily to Panama.

Some indication of the extent of interstate traffic is given by the number of successful prosecutions by the United States Department of Justice since the passage of the interstate traffic law in June, 1910. During the period from June, 1910, to January, 1915, 1,057 persons guilty of sending women from one state or territory to another were convicted. These convictions were obtained in 44 different states, in the District of Columbia, the Philippine Islands, and Hawaii,—the largest numbers in Washington, Michigan, New York, Illinois, Oregon, Missouri and Texas. In many other cases, offenders could not be located, or lack of sufficient evidence prevented conviction.

Some of the most vicious procurers, against whom sufficient evidence had not been secured to convict of violation of state laws, have been prosecuted by officers of the federal government for violation of the interstate traffic act. Two notorious procurers, Morris and Lena Cohen, had plied their trade of supplying women to disorderly resorts, unchecked, until caught in the net spread by government officers. Morris Cohen boasted of having the largest clearing house for women in New York City. During the investigation of the Special White Slave Grand Jury in 1910, when "business was bad" in New York, he and Lena Cohen sent many girls to Albany, Schenectady, Buffalo, and also to other states. Although we had heard Lena's direct proposals to send girls to other cities, we

were not able to get sufficient evidence to prosecute under a state law. For several months Lena cautiously refrained from accompanying girls. Yet she continued to book them for resorts outside of New York, and with her so-called husband, received a percentage of profit or a lump sum from many keepers of disorderly houses. We could see Morris Cohen, at times, sitting on an old express wagon outside his Allen Street home, but if we followed him as he drove away, we would discover that he never did any real work. His pretended business was only a cloak to hide his traffic in women. Soon after the interstate traffic law was passed, Lena Cohen was arrested for sending girls to the house of Jennie Luretta in Hartford, Connecticut, and Morris Cohen was charged with conspiracy. The testimony in this case revealed widespread traffic in women. In addressing the jury, the presiding judge made a forceful charge:

"You have listened to long drawn out testimony regarding a kind of life which fills every right-minded man with loathing and disgust. You are called upon to judge certain persons whose admitted habits and antecedents do not recommend them. These are facts at which you cannot blink, but they render it the more necessary, if that be possible, to measure out exact justice,—nothing more and nothing less,—to those before you.

"Now, what is the law, which is always the first inquiry, under which these people are brought here? It is a comparatively recent enactment, and has been in force less than year and a half—at least in its present state. It declares among other things, that any person, man or woman, who shall knowingly persuade, induce, entice, or coerce or cause to be persuaded, enticed, induced or coerced, or assist in persuading, enticing, inducing, or coercing, any woman or girl to go from one place to another, in interstate or foreign commerce, for the purpose of prostitution, shall be deemed guilty of a felony and punished accordingly.

"Now what does this statute mean, and upon what facts is it based? By that question I mean what are the human facts that you and I and every man that has his eyes open is bound to know? The statute rests on the fundamental fact known of

all men who have not withdrawn from the world, that prostitution is a business; something in which affection and passion only interfere with gain—only interfere with the pursuit of money. It rests on the further fact that it is a corrupting, disease-making, soul- and body-destroying business, and, therefore, should be limited, and if possible uprooted. It rests on the further fact, that great cities are places apt to produce candidates for houses of prostitution in smaller places, whence local prostitutes are likely to flee as being too well known. Therefore, the wisdom of Congress has made it a very serious offense to induce or cause prostitutes to spread the infection of their presence from one state to another.

"By this indictment, Morris Cohen, Lena Cohen and Jennie Luretta are charged with agreeing to violate the first law to which I called your attention—the law which is commonly spoken of as the White Slave Traffic Act. That is to say, they are charged with agreeing to induce women or girls, or a woman or a girl, to go from New York to Hartford, Connecticut, and other places in the United States not in New York. There is the offense of conspiracy charged. Jennie Luretta says by her plea, 'Yes, I did this.' And while every question of fact in this and every other criminal cause is for the jury to decide on their oaths, and to the best of their intelligence and on their conscience,—in this case I have no hesitation in expressing as my opinion that Lena Cohen has by her own evidence shown that she did so agree with Jennie Luretta. And so you come to consider the evidence against and for Morris Cohen.

"If you believe that Morris Cohen has led the life the witnesses for the government detail, if you believe that he has not been only a truckman, not only a broker in anything that brought gain his way, including disorderly houses and saloons, but that he is a man who said over and over again to persons who have spoken to you, that he could and would, for pay, furnish girls to keepers of brothels, then you have to consider the ultimate question in this case, and that ultimate question is this: Did Morris Cohen know what the woman he lived with was doing—that is, Lena Cohen? Did he know that she was dealing with Jennie Luretta? Did he know that Jennie Luretta wanted girls in Connecticut, and that she was writing about them and paying for them? Did he know these things, and knowing, did he consent and assist in bringing them to pass,—and making them effective? If he did, then he conspired with Lena Cohen

and Jennie Luretta, for he agreed with them to violate the law, and Lena plainly did so violate it.

"It makes no difference if it be true that he did not personally send the girls himself. It makes no difference that he did not talk to them. It makes no difference that Lena Cohen did the work. The law of conspiracy is among other purposes for the very object of reaching those wrong-doers who avoid the more open and dangerous part of intended law-breaking."

The vigorous efforts of Department of Justice officers, jury, and judge, resulted in the sentence of Morris Cohen to Atlanta Penitentiary for two years and to pay a fine of \$10,000, and the commitment of Lena Cohen to Auburn for five years.

Traffic in women is carried on between cities in the same state, and between procurers and owners of houses in the same city. There is much local trade by the same men who bring women from other countries or states, but it is stimulated and increased greatly by men living on the earnings of prostitutes, who often confine their procuring and exploitation of women to one large metropolis. Before the passage of a law in New York State in 1910, making it a felony for men to procure women and live on their earnings of prostitution, this crime was classed as "vagrancy" and punished by a maximum sentence of six months in the workhouse or by a \$10 fine—the same penalty that might be inflicted upon a vagrant who begged for five cents on the streets. Very few of these men were arrested, and still fewer were convicted and sentenced. It was so difficult to have one of them apprehended by the police after a warrant had been secured, that we resorted at times to the surer method of inducing them to come to court on some pretext, after securing adequate evidence for their conviction, and then having them placed under arrest.

Among the number of men who suffered in consequence was a procurer, Tom Sole. One evening in Night Court, a frightened, starved-looking little creature, Marion Willis, told me with quivering voice the story of his cruelties and threats. She had not been allowed to enter the furnished room at night until she had

put \$10 over the transom; if she returned on a rainy evening before the required amount was earned, she would be beaten and sent out again to the lonely streets. Other women of the street had taken pity upon her, had given her food when she was faint and hungry, and had loaned or given her clothing when she was cold. They declared that no procurer "treated his women as bad as Tom Sole," and told of two other young girls whom he had "starved and nearly killed." In spite of Sole's threats to shoot Marion and "give her a wooden overcoat" if she ever ran away or "squealed," she did both within a period of twenty-four hours. "He can't do no more than kill me for it, and I'm sure I'd got killed if I stayed, so what difference does it make?" questioned the broken-spirited girl. As the result of an investigation in the squalid furnished-room house where they had lived together, and a message to Sole by a woman of the streets, the procurer came the next evening to Night Court. He sent in word that he was Marion's husband and would like to see me at the side entrance of the court. I granted the privilege willingly. After inviting him to enter and listening to his false statements, I took him before the judge, stated the result of my investigations, and let Marion tell her story. Sole was convicted forthwith of vagrancy and sentenced to the longest term then possible in New York State for a procurer living on the earnings of prostitution—a paltry six months at the workhouse.

Since the passage of the law, in 1910, making procuring and receiving proceeds of prostitution a felony, it has been more possible and more worth while to bring these offenders to justice. Warrants are not requisite in cases of offenders charged with felonies, so that apprehension is much easier. There is not the same danger of persons being "tipped off" that they are wanted. The first case brought under the law of 1910, was initiated by the New York Probation and Protective Association against a procurer, Samuel Rubin. He had met an ignorant Russian girl, seventeen years old, at a Sunday afternoon dance, had promised to marry her, and soon had persuaded her to go on

the streets for a "couple of weeks." After operating on suit cases all day long, Lillian would find Rubin waiting for her outside the factory, and would follow him to the locality where he wished her to solicit. Before returning to her uncle's home in Brooklyn at ten o'clock each night, she gave all her earnings to her procurer. While serving a sentence in the workhouse for soliciting, Lillian told us her story. "I didn't was experienced in dat bad business," she said. "He promise I going to get married mit him. He say, 'May be you get pinched, me get you out. You no say a feller put you in, you say you get in mit bad girls. You not tell any ting on me, me get six year. You say you seven year in dis country.'" We discovered adequate proof to warrant the arrest of this procurer. After the verdict of guilty had been pronounced and the time had come for sentence, the judge addressed the defendant in open court:

"Your crime is one for which description falters; it is lower than perdition itself; it is blacker than despair. The people of New York are determined to stamp out, if necessary with iron boots, such despicable crimes. The jury that convicted you had ample evidence, and had it brought in any other verdict than it did would have been under condemnation itself; for a jury that fails in its duty is as bad as the criminal it allows to go free!"

These words and the sentence which followed, struck terror to the hearts of Samuel Rubin and other procurers waiting in the court that morning. Like wildfire, it spread through the underworld that Rubin "got 10 to 17 years and 6 months in Sing Sing."

Evidence of trafficking in women has been produced not only by trial and conviction of individuals, but by investigations carried on by authorized officials. The Special Grand Jury, of which Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., was foreman, investigated the "alleged existence in New York County of an organized traffic in women for immoral purposes." The report

filed June 29, 1910, stated that no organization was found to exist for the purpose of carrying on the traffic, but added:

"It appears on the other hand, from indictments found by us and from the testimony of witnesses, that a trafficking in the bodies of women does exist and is carried on by individuals acting for their own individual benefit, and that these persons are known to each other and are more or less informally associated.

"We have also found that associations and clubs, composed mainly or wholly of those profiting from vice, have existed, and that one such association still exists. These associations and clubs are analogous to commercial bodies in other fields, which, while not directly engaged in commerce, are composed of individuals all of whom as individuals are so engaged."

A commission appointed in Massachusetts in 1913, for investigation of the white slave traffic, discovered no organization for the buying and selling of women for immoral purposes, but found that "procurers in many localities in the state systematically persuade and induce girls to enter the business of commercialized prostitution," and that "procurers bargain for girls, whom they control and whose transfer from city to city they arrange."¹

Although only 256 of the group of 1,000 girls claimed that men had definitely brought them into prostitution, so generally did I find women associated with procurers and men living on their earnings, that I am convinced that practically every girl in prostitution has been exploited at some time by a trafficker.

No one knows how many maidens this modern Minotaur claims yearly as its victims. But we do know that ignorant, careless, unfortunate, feeble-minded, and unprotected girls are constantly being induced or forced to be sacrificed to it. Ours is the responsibility to say whether or not we shall give up our girls or strike the blow which will kill this hideous monster.

¹ Report of the Commission for the Investigation of the White Slave Traffic, So-called, Feb. 1914. Wright and Potter Printing Co., Boston, page 22.

CHAPTER V

LEGISLATION AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

As during the last decade, the general public has become increasingly sensitive to the exploitation of girls, a newly awakened conscience is demanding that women be freed from the wretched life and that children in the future be prevented from entering prostitution. To aid in accomplishing this, reasonable laws must be made and vigorously enforced. Legislation must be directed not chiefly against women practicing prostitution, but against exploiters and traffickers responsible for increasing the demand for the evil and the supply of young girls to it. By checking supply, preventing stimulation of demand, and eliminating profits of owners and keepers of resorts, the volume of vice will be lessened and moral wreckage greatly decreased. Successful results from law enforcement depend upon good state and federal statutes, honest and efficient police and other administrative officials; integrity and wisdom of courts in dealing with offenders; and most of all upon that dynamic force which must put life into laws and constantly demand their enforcement—the power of public opinion.

LEGISLATION

Too many laws have been aimed at the women who constitute the supply to prostitution, instead of at the men who demand it or at the exploiters who stimulate both supply and demand and reap large profits from it. Every state has laws directed against women in prostitution. In New York State, women are penalized for soliciting or accosting men on the streets, practicing prostitution in tenement houses, residing in

houses of prostitution, offering to commit prostitution, and for being "common prostitutes" and having no lawful employment whereby to maintain themselves.

Solicitation by women on public thoroughfares is disorderly and offensive to public decency, and should therefore be abolished. Prostitution in tenements is dangerous to the morals of young girls and children residing in the same houses. The presence of large numbers of women without lawful means of support or living in houses of prostitution unquestionably increases the volume of vice in any city. A law penalizing as a vagrant "a person who has contracted an infectious or other disease in the practice of drunkenness or debauchery, requiring charitable aid to restore him to health," unjustly discriminates against the man or woman who has no savings with which to pay a private physician and who is consequently obliged to seek care in a public hospital.

Although prostitution necessarily involves both a man and a woman, very few laws are directed against the men. Except by using abduction and adultery laws, and in a few states, fornication and vagrancy laws, there is no possibility of arresting men who patronize immoral resorts. I have frequently seen ten or twenty women arraigned in court as inmates of a disorderly house and heard the judge ask the arresting officer if all in the house were taken. The usual answer was that the men were allowed to go. The doors were opened for them to depart before the women were placed under arrest. Why should it be a crime for a woman to be a prostitute or an inmate of a house of prostitution, and not an offense for a man to indulge in prostitution? The volume of vice and its very existence depends upon patronage by men. If men did not consort with prostitutes, women would not be prostitutes. Legislation which lays responsibility upon women and not upon men for participation in the same act, is most unjust. If women must be held guilty of crime for being prostitutes, surely men must be guilty for patronizing prostitutes. Recognition of

equality of men and women requires that responsibility be equally shared.

In freeing women from vice and lessening the volume of prostitution, laws against supply and demand are far less important than laws directed at exploiters of vice. Men and women who procure girls for prostitution and help in other ways to increase supply, who constantly increase demand for profits, and who control, manage, or own disorderly resorts, are in the last analysis responsible for the great volume of vice in our cities. In discussing the extent of the white slave traffic, I spoke of laws enacted by the federal government and the states to control the procuring and exploiting of young women for prostitution. Federal laws, passed February, 1907, against importing and harboring alien girls for prostitution, were aimed at men trafficking in immigrant girls. When the provision with regard to harboring aliens was declared unconstitutional because such legislation was within the province of the states rather than that of the national government, many wretched exploiters were released. In 1910, the Interstate Traffic Law gave federal officers an effective weapon against procurers who were taking girls from one state to another. The framers of that law doubtless intended it to reach traffickers only; yet it has also been invoked in numerous instances against men taking women from state to state for immoral purposes, but not for prostitution. Extended use of the law for this purpose would imperil its effectiveness. Opportunity afforded by this means to blackmail men has been seized occasionally by unscrupulous women who have been taken from state to state, and also by men posing as federal officials. Federal laws could be further strengthened by penalizing persons sending interstate communications regarding traffic in women and making any involuntary servitude a criminal offense.

Many state laws have placed responsibility upon persons stimulating the supply of young women to prostitution. With increased recognition that girls were being induced and forced

into prostitution, laws have been enacted against traffickers and men living on the earnings of vice. In New York State under Section 2460 of the Penal Law, adopted in 1910, it is a crime punishable by imprisonment from two to twenty years and a fine of \$5000 to import women into the state or send them out of it for the purpose of prostitution or to aid them in obtaining transportation to or within the state; to place a woman in the charge of another for immoral purposes or in a house of prostitution; to pay money to procure a woman for the purpose of placing her in a house of prostitution or to receive money for procuring her; and to detain any woman in a house of prostitution for the purpose of compelling her to cancel a debt incurred there. It was made a felony punishable by a maximum sentence of twenty years and \$1000 to accept money or other valuable thing from the earnings of any woman engaged in prostitution. During the last few years, a number of states have enacted laws following closely the provisions and the severe penalties of the New York statute. In Illinois, since 1908, pandering has been a misdemeanor punishable by a maximum penalty of one year and \$500 fine.

Through more stringent rape and abduction laws, it is also possible to reach men who directly or indirectly are responsible for bringing girls into prostitution. Men who have assaulted or seduced and deserted young girls, can by these laws be brought within the jurisdiction of the court. The most severe laws are directed against the men who forcibly assault children; less severe penalties are prescribed for assault with intent to commit rape, for impairing the morals of a girl, for carnal knowledge, and for abduction. A number of states name the age below which criminal assault is considered rape, and all the states name an age of consent. In different states the age of consent varies from ten years to twenty-one years. In one state it is twenty-one years; in twenty-one states it is eighteen years; in seventeen states, the District of Columbia, and

Alaska it is sixteen years; in two states and Hawaii it is fifteen; in six states—Alabama, Indiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia and West Virginia, it is still fourteen years, and in the state of Georgia, it is pitifully low—only ten years. Some states name lower ages in case the girl was previously unchaste, and others stipulate that only in case the girl was previously chaste shall the man be held guilty. North Carolina, for example, penalizes carnal knowledge of a girl over ten and under fourteen, only in case she has been virtuous. Tennessee prescribes that conviction may not be had if a girl over twelve has been a "bawd, lewd, or kept female." This means that a child of ten or over in Georgia, a girl of ten to fourteen in North Carolina, who has once been immoral, or a girl of twelve or over in Tennessee who has been leading an immoral life has no claim to moral guardianship from the state. When we recognize how carefully juries guard the rights of the defendant in every case where the girl is shown to be the aggressor or equally responsible with the man, or of previously bad character, we are convinced that these legal ages are far too low. Except in cases of forcible assault, seduction under promise of marriage, or mental incapacity of the girl, it may be impossible to expect convictions when the complainant is over eighteen years; but every girl should be protected by law until she has reached the age of eighteen.

Laws against exploiters who advertise or stimulate vice are important in reducing demand for prostitution. When we realize how widely extended are the various methods of increasing the volume of prostitution through directly stimulating sex impulses, more effective laws will be passed. Among the most contemptible exploiters of vice are men who stand on a street corner and distribute cards to possible patrons, who advertise disorderly massage parlors and cafés through printed announcements or newspapers, who manufacture and sell obscene postcards, pictures and books, or who employ women to give sensual dances and induce men to purchase liquor to increase

earnings from prostitution. Every one of them should be liable to some legal penalty.

Keepers or owners of disorderly resorts are in all states subject to criminal prosecution. Often they are the worst aggressors in procuring girls for prostitution and in stimulating patronage for their houses. Their one purpose of realizing largest possible profits leads them to exploit to the utmost, girls too ignorant or afraid to safeguard their own interests. Difficulty in suppressing houses of prostitution by criminal action has led to the passage of injunction and abatement laws. Although the principle of injunction for abatement of a nuisance is a heritage from the common law of England, it had been invoked but rarely in connection with houses of prostitution, and then only when there was injury to property. The debasing influence of such resorts upon the moral welfare of citizens is of far greater importance than any financial damage. The Injunction and Abatement Law, enacted in Iowa in 1909, has been adopted since by twenty-five other states and the District of Columbia. It provides that injunction proceedings may be initiated by any citizen against owners of property used for immoral purposes. By enjoining the owner of property from further use of it for prostitution and from use for any purpose for a year without special permission, the nuisance may be abated. The indirect effect of this law in preventing property owners from leasing houses for disorderly resorts, has been remarkable in many communities. In many instances in Des Moines, Iowa, and other cities, property owners who have been in doubt about the character of prospective tenants, have applied to the police for information concerning them. When the police investigations have shown that the tenants were undesirable, property owners have refused to lease to them. Another effort to reach owners of houses, apart from criminal prosecution, is through the "Tin Plate" ordinance, adopted in Portland, Oregon. It requires that a sign bearing the owner's name be hung in a conspicuous place on the building. By this

means the public may know who are the owners of immoral resorts.

Although we have laws which enable us to prosecute flagrant resorts, there are many questionable furnished-room houses, bad hotels and dance halls, which cannot be effectually reached by existing laws. There is need of municipal license and control of furnished-room houses, hotels, dance halls and other amusement places, so that assurance may be had that managers are conducting respectable places, not houses of assignation or hiding places for criminals and runaway girls.

All states should bring their laws up to the level of the best legislation in the different states. The commonwealths that have not yet enacted laws against owners of houses used for immoral purposes, men living on the earnings of prostitution, procurers and other traffickers, should do so at once. In every state the age of consent should be raised to eighteen years. By securing more uniform laws against exploiters who make large profits from the business of prostitution and from stimulating demand and supply, we shall have effective weapons for warring on commercialized vice.

POLICE AND MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION

Excellent laws aiming to suppress prostitution will not be enforced unless police and administrative officials of cities take action. Some idea of the situation with regard to law enforcement in the United States was obtained in 1914 and 1915 by statements of police officials and mayors, and by many supplementary personal investigations. Answers to a questionnaire which I sent to the 100 largest cities and 10 others which had made special study of vice, showed that of the 93 cities from which replies were received, 27 pursued a policy of regulation of vice and 66 a policy of suppression. Since 1910, 33 of these cities had changed from regulation to suppression and had abandoned their "red light" districts. Methods of dealing with vice, and difficulties and results of law enforcement, were

revealed by the statements of these officials. Most significant of all was the almost universal approval of efforts to abolish "red light" districts, suppress disorderly resorts and street soliciting, and to reach in some effective way the traffickers in vice.

Regulation of prostitution, as attempted in different cities, varied greatly. Some adopted rules for registration and control of prostitutes; several required that resorts be located within a specific district; others tolerated houses of prostitution on condition that they complied with police rules. Effort was made to control prostitutes by requiring that they present themselves at police headquarters before entering a resort, give a brief record of name, age, address, and other essential facts, and file a photograph. Rules limiting freedom of action of registered prostitutes were numerous. In Richmond, Virginia, for example, prostitutes were not allowed on the street after 5 P. M., not after 3 P. M. on Saturday, and not at all on Sundays and holidays. As long as resorts remained within prescribed boundaries, they were not molested; if they opened in other localities, police were warranted in arresting the keepers. In many cities not attempting segregation, resorts were tolerated while they complied with police rules. These rules were different for every city and even different for the same city under different administrations. The regulations most commonly found were those which attempted to prevent offensive advertising by red lights, music, and presence of women in doorways, and the sale of liquor in houses. Others prescribed that no person should keep or have interest in more than one house, and that "keepers must allow no larceny or other crime to be committed in the house." Imposition of fines without formality of arrest was a frequent police requirement until public sentiment awakened to the need of abolishing practices that savored of licensed prostitution.

[Difficulties named by police officers in cities regulating vice indicate that it is as hard to enforce rules as to enforce laws, and

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that there is as much trouble with street soliciting and clandestine prostitution in cities regulating vice as in those attempting suppression. Among the difficulties named by cities having "red light" districts are, "preventing strangers renting rooms and soliciting," "women moving from the district under plea of being reformed," "clandestine prostitution," "keeping prostitution confined to a district," "having women live up to the rules," and "keeping prostitutes off the streets and from hotels and boarding houses." Cities requiring registration know perfectly well that not all prostitutes are registered; those claiming segregation know that vice is not confined to a district, and in spite of many rules governing tolerated houses it is well known that they are imperfectly enforced.

DIFFICULTIES IN LAW ENFORCEMENT

A policy of suppression has been pursued with different degrees of vigor by many large cities and is being adopted by an increasing number of others. Recognition of the vicious part taken by exploiters has resulted in the shifting of responsibility from inmates of houses and women practicing prostitution to keepers, owners, and traffickers. Difficulties experienced by the police in attempting to enforce laws against vice are charged to political interests, lack of honest and efficient officers, to rulings and disposition of cases in courts, and to lack of public support of law enforcement.

Activity or inactivity of police in enforcing laws reflects the attitude of the city administration toward the suppression of vice. If a mayor is under political obligation to interests controlling vice he is not likely to instigate or sanction attacks upon them. Several years ago I frequently heard discussions among men of the underworld about elections in New York City, "Why did we all vote for him if not to get a wide-open town?" questioned the representative of a large group soon after a mayoralty election. Then he told how ex-penitentiary inmates and gangsters had been "planted" in saloon-hotels and lodging

houses in the Tenderloin district for the purpose of increasing the vote for the successful candidate. More recently, we have had an example in New York City of what a city administration, reinforced by public opinion, can accomplish in lessening vice when there is no dependence upon votes controlled by vice interests. From 1912 to 1915, the number of disorderly resorts and of inmates has been reduced; street soliciting has decreased; some of the worst features of exploitation have been practically eliminated, and many owners and procurers have left the city. Nearly every large city can point to certain periods when it has had a vigorous or lax enforcement of laws, depending upon whether the administration drew its power from clean or polluted sources. When citizens realize their obligation to elect to positions of trust men who will serve the community faithfully, rather than to elect politicians who exploit their positions for financial or political gain, there can be persistent law enforcement.

Effective enforcement of laws against vice requires honest and efficient police officers. As long as houses of prostitution and individual prostitutes can be made to pay money for protection and freedom from arrest, police interference is merely a matter of expediency. It is a well-known fact, although seldom capable of legal proof, that police officers in most large cities have reaped profits from vice. Keepers of houses have told of paying thousands of dollars to the police for the privilege of opening resorts and for subsequent protection. If policemen were not bold enough themselves to collect the money, they employed an agent familiar with ways in the underworld. These sums varied according to the number of inmates in the house and the prices charged. Police knew whether the house was a one-dollar or a ten-dollar house and whether it had ten or twenty inmates. Girls renting rooms in assignation houses, and managers and occupants of disorderly flats, claimed that police levied directly upon them. A former captain of police in New York City confessed that officers in his district had exacted

revenue from disorderly hotels and houses and that he had shared the proceeds of it. A police lieutenant, who paid the penalty by death for the murder of a self-confessed gambler, had profited from disorderly resorts as well as gambling houses, and had instituted raids for no other purpose than that of exacting this tribute. At a hearing by the City Council in Chicago in 1912, after the closing of two vice districts and the dismissal of a number of police officials, the attorney for an organization prosecuting exploiters, produced a page from a loose-leaf ledger showing that a small disorderly resort paid \$210.51 a week for police protection. On that basis, he estimated that the amount collected by the police from resorts in the district would be over \$2,000,000 a year.

Women soliciting on the streets in New York City have told me freely that they had to pay for the privilege of walking on certain throughfares unmolested. They were obliged to confine their soliciting to well-defined districts, co-extensive with the policeman's "beat." When they went beyond such limits they were liable to arrest. One girl who rebelled against the "system" said to me one evening in Night Court, "I paid to walk in Thirty-fourth Street, and I think it's a mean shame that I got pinched just because I happened to walk on Thirty-fifth Street to-night." Although many have told stories of graft, few have given proof to substantiate their accusations. One evening two girls who admitted that they were prostitutes, entered a station-house and complained against two detectives for demanding money from them under penalty of arrest. The officers had demanded a larger sum, but had accepted \$3 when the women insisted that they had no more. The story of the two young women was so straightforward that the lieutenant made a complaint against the detectives and caused their arrest. Although pressure was brought to bear from various sources to influence the women to change their testimony, and they were told that they would never be allowed to solicit in New York again or even to remain in the city without being "hounded"

by the police, they continued to tell the same story. They corroborated each other at every point. Unwillingness of courts to convict on the unsupported testimony of prostitutes rendered the outcome uncertain, until one officer gave evidence to the state and made a complete confession. On his plea of "guilty" he was released on suspended sentence, while the convicted policeman was sentenced to two years in Sing Sing.

Adequate enforcement of laws demands that police be not only honest but efficient. Commissioners complain of difficulty in getting officers who are both willing and capable of enforcing the laws. Investigations in many cities have revealed gross ignorance on the part of the police or absolute disregard of vice in their own districts. Prosecutions initiated in different cities in Iowa, based upon the Removal Law which penalizes negligent officials, resulted in the dismissal of many officers. At the time of closing the "red light" districts in Chicago, a number of police officers, including captains and lieutenants, were convicted of flagrant neglect of duty.

Methods employed by police in enforcing laws in cities where vice had for a long time been tolerated are suggestive of ways in which police efficiency can be increased. Notification of resort-keepers that laws were to be enforced, accompanied by a warning that those who remained would be vigorously prosecuted, has been sufficient to cause large numbers of owners and keepers to give up their houses and leave the city. The time allowed for this has varied from a few days to several months. In many instances no one has remained to be prosecuted; in others the police have been careful to determine whether or not their orders were obeyed, and in case of failure, have made arrests or applied for warrants. The adoption of a state injunction law or statute holding owners responsible, has given many cities incentive for police action. Owners of property used for immoral resorts have been notified that they must get rid of their tenants, and the response in most cases has been immediate. Such warning, in cities that have been accustomed to

tolerate vice, is only a matter of fairness and simple justice. Equally just is it that before such action is taken, provision should be made to help any girls or women who wish to abandon the life.

Another method employed successfully by police in increasing effectiveness of law enforcement is "quarantine," which is effected by stationing uniformed officers in front of houses of prostitution. Sometimes they ask patrons who approach for their names and addresses, but whether they do or not, the silent espionage is sufficient to deter patrons from entering. The keeper is told that "quarantine" will continue as long as the place is managed as a disorderly resort. This method has been employed to some extent in New York City, but more generally in Philadelphia, Salt Lake City, Baltimore, and other cities that have closed their segregated districts within the last few years.

By resort to criminal statutes, police can accomplish much in suppressing disorderly houses and street soliciting. In enforcing these statutes, it should be the officer's duty to arrest not a housekeeper or a colored servant, but the manager or owner of the house. Many attempts at suppression have failed simply because no determined effort has been made to reach the men and women who control and own resorts. When, however, police have made an honest effort to secure evidence against the owners and managers, suppression of those particular houses has followed. The effectiveness of this policy has been demonstrated in Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, and other large cities, where many men and women firmly intrenched as resort-keepers have been forced to give way. A hotel in New York City, patronized chiefly by men of recognized social position, withheld for years any attempted attacks upon it; but when a well-planned campaign was undertaken, in which both police and courts co-operated, it was possible to arrest and convict the quadroon who had boasted of making from \$15,000 to \$20,000 a month from it and to close the hotel.

I cannot stress too emphatically the need of an efficient police force, because I am convinced that suppression of street soliciting can be accomplished by efficient police work. Much more than is now done could be done by uniformed officers, if they were only given adequate authority and then held responsible. Officers capable of coping with all other kinds of disorder, are not without power to control this disorder. Women of the street know well which policemen drive them off their beats, and remain away from those districts. If all policemen did their duty in this respect, detectives would not be required for this work. There is something revolting about employing "plain clothes" officers for the purpose of catching or trapping women for street soliciting. But if this practice is to be continued, then, since men are often aggressors in accosting women, why should not police women be sent out for the purpose of arresting men? This policy, however, in either case is to be condemned. In its place should be substituted the plan of utilizing a sufficient number of efficient, uniformed officers.

Detection and conviction of procurers, traffickers, and men living on the earnings of prostitution, require clever police work. Men of superior qualifications, who devote their entire time to this work, are essential. The remarkable results obtained by agents of the Department of Justice in executing federal laws has been due to their freedom from all local influences and to high standards of honesty and efficiency. Of absolute necessity in dealing with prostitution in our cities is police efficiency.

RESULTS OF LAW ENFORCEMENT

Employment of these various methods of law enforcement, separately or collectively, has resulted in lessening vice in many cities. Testimony to this effect from reports of officials is overwhelming.

The chief of police of Duluth in a letter written to me

March 18, 1914, told of conditions in the city before the district was closed June, 1913, and said:

"In my opinion the best method of lessening and reducing this evil is our present method of enforcing the law, by following them relentlessly, and by prosecuting when evidence can be secured; and by trying to induce those who have a wayward disposition to reform. We have much less prostitution in this city at present than has ever been the case since I have been in this department which is twenty-three years; and it is the first time a real effort has been made to eliminate prostitution."

In an address before a committee of the City Council of Chicago, November, 1912, the Attorney General for the State of Iowa declared that during the three years after the closing of the vice districts in Des Moines and other cities in Iowa, vice had been greatly reduced and attacks upon innocent women had not increased. He quoted a letter from the mayor of Des Moines, as follows:

"Our policy has not only removed a very large per cent. of the evil, but it has at the same time removed the entire effrontery of it.

"Other important considerations are that it has rid the community of a class of criminals and hangers-on that are always attendant upon this vice, that it has removed the temptation always flaunted in the face of our young men under the old system, and that at least, so far as Des Moines is concerned, it no longer makes us a party to the annual offering of some scores of our young girls upon the altar of lust.

"Finally and quite to the discomfort of those theorists who hold that a system of prostitution is necessary to protect chaste women against rape, the abolition of the segregated district has not in the least endangered the virtue of the rest of the woman-kind in our city."

In March, 1914, I received the following statement from the superintendent of police in Philadelphia:

"We have been using our endeavors for some time to suppress the existence of disorderly bawdy houses. The police

quarantine has been established since May 6, 1913, in front and rear of every known or suspected disorderly bawdy house in this city, which has resulted in the closing of such houses.

"As the laws of this state prohibit keeping disorderly bawdy houses, being inmates of same, or soliciting on the streets, we use every effort to close up such houses and keep them closed and we arrest all persons found soliciting; and we believe that our police quarantine and squad of plain clothes men are most effective in dealing with such evils and reducing them to a minimum."

A letter from an official of the Police Department of Chicago, March 23, 1914, stated:

"There has been no marked increase in clandestine prostitution due to the suppression policy now enforced; in fact, there is every indication to the contrary."

He reviewed the Chicago situation as follows:

"Up until two years ago there were three districts, one in each division of the city, in which prostitution was tolerated. About that time the mayor ordered the two smaller districts cleaned up, which was done. The third and largest district continued in operation up until about January 1, 1913, when the houses in this district were also ordered closed and the majority did close. A few, however, persisted in operating, but have been so frequently arrested and fined, that they are unable to operate profitably and are now practically all out of business. During 1913 a civilian morals section was added to the department and charged with the investigation of all matters pertaining to public morals, under which, of course, prostitution came. Investigators are now employed who operate independently of the active force and gather evidence necessary for prosecution. During the latter part of 1913 and up until date, a few patrolmen have been assigned to this morals section, who under its direction, make arrests on evidence gathered."

The method and results of enforcing laws in Salt Lake City, are explained by the chief of police, who wrote March 20, 1914, as follows:

"Up to two years ago Salt Lake City had a segregated district and quite a number of sporting houses outside of this district. Rooming houses were full of prostitutes and the illegal sale of beer was carried on to a large extent. Women were soliciting on the streets and this condition became so alarming that the commission form of government was swept into office on a tidal wave of reform and when the mayor was asked for his platform as to the handling of the social evil, he answered that while he held the office of mayor he would stand on the platform that there were no necessary evils in the city. We have followed out this plan, and the segregated district was closed by proceedings in the courts against property owners and the parties in charge of the same, until the places were closed and the property disposed of. We closed the sporting houses by notifying the landladies of each house to come to police headquarters where I gave each one to understand that we would give a certain number of days to dispose of their property, close up the house, either change their lives or leave the city. Most of them sold out and left the city. Others remained and were very defiant, working on the suggestion of pettifogging lawyers that they did not have to sell out. We commenced arresting and fining men and women who were found in these places and in a short time they were all closed.

"We then started on the rooming-houses and street soliciting and to-day I believe we can truthfully say that we have minimized the evil in this city to a very fine point. We find the best method of dealing with rooming-houses is to place a uniformed officer directly in front of the house with a pass book and pencil in his hand, and every man or woman who goes in or out, he will ask for the name or number of room, and when they ask why he is doing this he simply replies that we are having a little trouble with the house. In a short time there is no one going in or out of the house and most of the occupants have moved out. The landlords then apply to the police to find out how long this uniformed officer is going to stand in front of their place. I always reply to them that as soon as they can run a legitimate rooming-house without the illegal sale of beer or harboring of prostitutes. They invariably ask that an officer be sent to investigate their house and we will find that the prostitutes have all been driven out. When we are satisfied that this is the case, we then notify them that the officer will be removed and will not return unless we find that the illegal sale of beer and the har-

boring of prostitutes is allowed, and if we find this is the case the officer will be returned and this time to stay until they have either sold out or closed up. This is the most effective way of handling gambling houses, rooming houses or parlor houses that have been in the residential part of the city that we have used.

"The cleaning of the city is like house-cleaning. It can only be done by persistent and determined effort on the part of the officers. Since adopting this method, prostitutes by the score and their consorts have left this city. All public gambling-houses are closed, opium and hop dens closed, until to-day the drug habit is almost eliminated. By following this method, robberies, holdups, and thefts of all kinds, and the reports of stolen goods, have decreased over 50 per cent. All kinds of crimes are gradually diminishing, and the word has been given out in the inter-mountain west by grafters and confidence men to be sure and pass Salt Lake up or they would be arrested before they have time to secure a room.

"Now we do not claim that vice does not exist in our city, but we certainly feel encouraged in the fact that we are minimizing all classes of crime and are certainly making headway in making a clean city.

"We have property owners and all kinds of citizens who are opposed to this method and claim that we are going to destroy the city, but the reports of merchants and business men in general will prove that as far as the financial condition of Salt Lake is concerned, it has never been better than during the past two years."

Many letters from police officials indicated that the evil of prostitution could be still further minimized by law enforcement. The police chief of a city having an unenviable reputation for flagrant vice until 1912, when it closed its restricted district, states:

"In my judgment, while prostitution remains on our statutes as a crime no officer or citizen has any right to license it or fail to prosecute the violations of this law, and when the country comes to this, the crime can be minimized the same as other crimes."

To help carry forward this reduction of vice, police look for help to the courts and to support of public opinion.

COURTS

Effectiveness of courts in enforcing law depends upon honesty and efficiency of judges and other court officers, wisdom and practice regarding evidence, unprejudiced and unbiased action of juries, and upon methods employed by judges in dealing with convicted offenders.

While acting as a probation officer in the magistrates' courts in New York City from 1907 to 1909, I had opportunity to contrast the efficiency and integrity of some judges and other court officers with the inefficiency and questionable methods of others. Some court officials were unfitted for their tasks; others were suspected of political or even dishonest motives. In the days when magistrates could be political leaders, a district politician freely entered the court, whispered to a "friendly" judge or conferred privately with him and secured the desired adjournment or release. Some judges would discharge offenders, against whom was presented evidence identical with that on which other magistrates would convict or hold for trial. Preference shown to one or two lawyers in certain courts was striking. They seemed able to justify their claim of a "pull" with the judge. Even some clerks of the court were under suspicion for reducing the grade of crimes in sworn affidavits, and for telling offenders when warrants were issued for their arrest. Although magistrates were required to be lawyers, they were often ignorant of laws governing cases under their jurisdiction. They greatly augmented profits of professional bondsmen by placing defendants upon "good behavior bonds." Rather than go to prison, convicted women would readily pay \$25 or \$50 to a saloon-keeper to furnish a bond of \$500. Graver charges developed against certain magistrates who were discovered early in 1908 to be releasing women illegally from the workhouse and reformatories over which they had no control. One judge, through bribing a newspaper to prevent publication of a story about his illegal practices, brought discredit upon the court.

Proceedings initiated to secure his removal showed that he had discharged many young women without legal warrant, and that all releases were secured by his former law partner. The disclosure of these practices led to the creation of a special state commission in 1909 to investigate the inferior criminal courts in New York State.

This commission of which Hon. Alfred R. Page, then senator, was chairman, gathered evidence regarding the administration of lower courts in cities of the first and second class, and secured the passage of laws providing for their reorganization. Many important changes in the magistrates' courts of New York City resulted from the laws secured by the commission and from recommendations made by it. A special night court was established for men, so that Jefferson Market became the Women's Night Court. Other important provisions included the appointment of a chief magistrate to administer the courts, a chief probation officer to superintend probation work, changes in physical arrangement of court rooms and detention pens, the establishment of a House of Detention for women, and the installation of a fingerprint system for women convicted of prostitution. Recommendations were made for the abolition of fines in prostitution cases, and for assignment of certain judges to sit in special courts. With the change in administration has come new order in the courts, a more efficient record system, and an atmosphere far less tainted with political and other questionable influences. The personnel of the bench has constantly improved. Various attempts to weaken this strong position through providing for elective instead of appointive magistrates, and for other changes, have not been successful.

To an increasing extent in New York City, courts and judges are reflecting public opinion through judicial decisions. A remarkable instance of this is a decision rendered July, 1914, in the case of the People of the State of New York vs. Joseph Fegelli. Fegelli, a manager of a house of prostitution, was sentenced December 22, 1913, to twenty years in state prison and fined

\$250 under the section of the law which makes it a felony to receive knowingly the proceeds of prostitution. By slips and receipts found in his home, it was proved that he received approximately 60 per cent. of the earnings of the women inmates. His long sentence was explained in part by the fact that he had been previously convicted. When appeal was taken from the decision rendered in the Supreme Court, the conviction was affirmed. In his written opinion, the justice quoted reports of vice commissions to show that commercialization of prostitution increased the volume and intensity of vice, and he also said that the lawmakers had intended to direct their measures against influential offenders. After declaring that the manager of a house of prostitution who engaged the voluntary inmates, directed their activities, and shared their earnings, was rightly convicted of knowingly receiving the proceeds of prostitution, the decision reads: "This legislation to stop all forms of money-making from earnings by prostitution was a constitutional exercise of the law-making power, and appellant was properly convicted and sentenced under its provisions." The far-reaching effects of such a decision, which gives law-enforcing officials support in their war upon commercialized vice, cannot be over-estimated.

Evil not yet abolished in courts arise from the power of "shyster" lawyers and professional bondsmen who prey upon unfortunate and ignorant defendants. These men secretly solicit patronage of prostitutes, take the last dollar from them, or accept bankbooks or jewelry instead of cash. Judges can do much to lessen their power by not favoring them. To free courts from the control of these lawyers and to defend women now at their mercy, the office of Public Defender should be established. Counties or cities should provide competent lawyers to defend, as well as to prosecute criminals. To prevent the professional bondsmen from preying upon unfortunate women, a woman's court should be open every day and every night for the immediate trial of cases.

Demand should be made for the appointment of judges of

highest ability and character. Judges should be fearless in deciding the right without dictation from political bosses and without fear of having their decisions reversed. In courts dealing entirely with women, there should be appointed a reasonable number of women judges or referees. That judges of the future may have more understanding of social problems in courts, education should begin now with students in law schools.

Rulings of courts with regard to evidence in cases involving prostitution or procuring, determine to a great extent the activity of police and effectiveness of courts in enforcing laws. Inability to secure evidence demanded by courts was one of the difficulties most frequently named by police officials of the largest cities in attempting to suppress vice. If courts continually dismiss cases on evidence presented, one of two results will surely follow. At the risk of perjury or demoralization in securing evidence, officers will make their testimony accord with demands of the court, or they will cease to make arrests in certain classes of cases. As we listen, night after night, to testimony against women charged with soliciting, we are convinced that some officers are perjuring themselves. It seems incredible that as many women could repeat words identically the same or that prostitutes should solicit detectives who are well known to them. We find it more reasonable at times to believe the girl's statement that the detective spoke to her first or that she did not talk to him. We have only the word of one individual against another, and the woman's word is discounted because she is a prostitute. We notice that if a judge rules that for conviction an officer must have been solicited personally by the woman or have heard conversation, testimony is given accordingly. If it is sufficient to have observed a woman soliciting another, or loitering on the streets, the officer seldom testifies to personal solicitation. I have often heard a clerk refuse to make out a complaint for loitering and tell the officer that the "judge never stands for that." Without hesitation the detective has said, "Make it soliciting then." There should be

greater uniformity among judges in the same city with regard to testimony in this class of cases, and unreasonable evidence should not be demanded.

To present evidence required by court for some offenses, officers are exposed necessarily to great danger of demoralization. Rulings by different judges in cases of prostitution in tenement houses or other resorts have been such that officers have been obliged to testify to most disgusting details. I have heard some officers give most revolting testimony in court, showing that they had actually violated laws themselves or had paid "stool pigeons,"—men closely associated with the underworld,—to consort with women in these houses. It is to the credit of some detectives that they absolutely refuse to get evidence in such a manner.

A natural result of demanding impossible evidence and of having cases discharged for lack of corroboration is that officers cease to make arrests in certain classes of cases. This partly explains lack of enforcement of certain laws, such as the adultery law in New York and other states, and of fornication laws in several states. Officers will not or cannot get the kind of evidence demanded. Failure to enforce laws involving procuring, abduction, rape, and other serious crimes, has been partly due to this. Although a prostitute is convicted on the unsupported word of an officer, a man cannot be convicted of living on the earnings of prostitution, of abduction, rape, or procuring, unless complaints made by the victim are substantiated by much corroborative evidence. Consequently women suffer, while exploiters go free.

Demands made by the court for minute details of crimes, and sanction of wretched methods of cross-examination by opposing lawyers, also militate against arrest of most vicious offenders. Parents and even some philanthropic organizations refuse to have men guilty of rape or abduction arrested, because of humiliation to the complaining witnesses who must suffer the torture of giving revolting testimony over and over again.

Change in rulings with regard to evidence lies within the power of the court. Obviously it is wrong to demand such evidence that officers perjure themselves to secure convictions. Promotion of police should not depend in any way upon the number of convictions secured. The time has come when police and courts should get together to evolve means by which officers may know more accurately the kind of evidence demanded by courts, and to enable courts to base their demands more nearly on what can be secured. The difficulties involved require that special officers, after mastering the intricacies of legal requirements and court rulings, should devote their entire time to this work. With this deadlock between police and courts broken and rules of evidence rendered more flexible, courts will promote instead of hinder the effectiveness of law enforcement.

There are times, however, when no matter how much police, prosecuting attorneys, and judges have done to enforce laws, their efforts may be thwarted by ignorant, sentimental, prejudiced, or dishonest jurors. Instead of finding the most intelligent men sitting as jurors to decide upon guilt or innocence of offenders who are charged with gravest crimes, we discover ignorant men without ability to comprehend or weigh value of evidence or even to understand the judge's instructions. Unquestionably they are often moved in their decisions by many influences other than a desire to determine whether or not the defendant is guilty. Sympathy for the young man or woman, and knowledge that in states lacking reformatories they are actually sending defendants to prison, result in a verdict of "innocent" for many guilty defendants. Unwillingness of juries to convict men of abduction and rape, when the age of consent is eighteen years, has been the reason urged by law-makers and many citizens, against enacting or enforcing severe rape and abduction laws. Change in this situation should come, not in demanding less stringent laws, but in influencing action of juries through the force of public opinion. In New York County, from January 1, 1912, to January 1, 1916, there were 226

convictions in rape and abduction cases in which complaining witnesses were under sixteen years, and 114 convictions in cases where complainants were sixteen years or over. In view of the fact that many men convicted of these offenses are also procurers, we see that action of juries in convicting them is most important.

Entrance of religious, political, or dishonest motives in action of juries is often suspected. One or two members of a jury may have cogent reasons for refusing to convict and so bring about a disagreement. The motive is not often as clearly seen or as sternly resented by the court as in a case decided in New York in July, 1915. The following newspaper clipping explains this important case:

"Cohalan Scores Jurors. Justice Charges Gross Miscarriage of Justice in Sobel Case."

"The jury in the suit of the Tenement House Commission to collect a fine of \$1,000 against Leon Sobel on the charge that he rented apartments to disorderly women in his house at 202 Manhattan Avenue, failed to agree after considering the case for nearly twelve hours. When the jurors came before Justice Cohalan of the Supreme Court yesterday morning to report, complaint was made that the jury had been hung by three men. Matthew Larkin, one of the jurors, told the court:

"These three men told us that a verdict for the plaintiff would hurt the interests of hundreds of owners of flats. I learned that one of the three had an interest in a concern that represented 172 apartments."

"Addressing Assistant Corporation Counsel John P. O'Brien, who had charge of such cases for the city, Justice Cohalan said:

"This is one of the grossest miscarriages of justice ever brought to my attention. In order that these men may hang no more juries I shall have their names stricken from the jury list."

"The court took under advisement a motion that a verdict be recorded for the city."

To prevent injustice by unintelligent and dishonest jurors men most fitted to perform such duty should not be exempt

from it. Competent women should also be drafted. The entire jury system should be weighed and tested to see if it is still warranted in our present-day court procedure.

Success of law enforcement depends in a large measure upon dispositions of cases in courts. Light penalties encourage contempt for law. Wide variety in sentence by different judges is harmful; greater uniformity of sentence is desirable. The most usual method has been to impose fines upon persons convicted of any offense relating to prostitution and to imprison only for non-payment of fine. Some courts sentence directly to jail or workhouse; others place under good behavior bonds, or commit to reformatories, and place on probation.

Action of courts in fining keepers of resorts has virtually licensed prostitution in many cities. Keepers have been indicted periodically by court and have filed into the court room once a month or once or twice a year to pay the stipulated fine. As long as they came of their own accord, they were not molested; if they did not appear officers were sent to arrest them. The amount of the fine has been fixed or has varied according to the number of inmates of the house. In Minneapolis, prior to 1910, keepers paid \$100 a month, the total aggregating \$41,600 in a year. Kansas City, Missouri, received in 1910 under its system of periodic fines \$50,000. When in 1911, I talked with several keepers in the district, they complained bitterly of having to pay a fine of \$50 every month for a small house with five inmates. Resort-keepers in Des Moines, prior to 1909, had paid an average amount of \$2,000 or \$3,000 a month in fines. This system was in use in Baltimore in 1915 and is still found in a number of cities.

Power of judges to remit the fine was utilized whenever it suited their political purpose to do so. A police officer told me how the system formerly operated in a city in Iowa before the vice district was closed. When keepers came to pay their fines in December, the police judge, an easy-going politician, told them he would make them a Christmas present of their fines.

If keepers in turn did not make a Christmas present to the judge, as was often suspected, their financial support could at least be counted on when time came for re-election. Then by contributing to the campaign fund, they helped to elect judges and mayors who would be friendly to them. Two months before election, a "trusted" officer would be delegated to go through the "red light" district and call on each keeper. He would tell the madames that there would be no fine during election month and probably none the month following the election, that he hoped men would be elected who would "stand by" the keepers, and incidentally remarked that other madames had been giving \$100 each. The desired \$100 was usually forthcoming.

By imposing fines upon women for street soliciting and keeping disorderly resorts, and upon men for consorting with women, living on the earnings of prostitution, or procuring, some cities are still keeping alive the vicious practice of licensing vice. Fines are more frequently used than any other disposition in all of these cases. Reports from police officials of 73 cities, showed that in 31 of them fines were usually imposed for keeping disorderly resorts and soliciting on the streets. In Massachusetts, men convicted of fornication were nearly always fined \$10. Prior to the year 1910 a majority of women convicted of prostitution in New York City were fined. I have often seen a group of women fined \$3 or \$5 for soliciting step up to the clerk and pay their fines and then leave the court room laughing. One young woman after another would stand behind the iron grating which separates prisoners from audience and hold up two or three fingers to indicate the amount of her fine. This was a signal for the man living on her earnings to come forward and hand the required two or three dollars over the grating to her. If a girl did not have money for her fine or a friend in the audience to give it to her, she would send a request to the disorderly hotel which she frequented. In a few minutes a "runner" came to the court with the money. The keeper of

the hotel depended upon the woman to return it as soon as she was able to do so, often the same night of her arrest. Although fines have not generally been imposed upon procurers and men living on the earnings of prostitution, we do find that at times they have been utilized. In connection with prison sentences they are very numerous. During five years after the adoption of the interstate traffic law in 1910, the federal courts had imposed fines amounting to \$145,906.50.

As a means of dealing with offenders, whether patrons, prostitutes, or exploiters, fines are useless. They do not punish; they do not deter; they do not help. They are so small that they do not result in effectively reducing profits of keepers and traffickers. Small fines are laughed at by girls who in a single night on the streets can make many times the amount of the fine. Large fines serve only to enslave a woman more, causing her to mortgage herself to pay for them, or encouraging association with a parasite dependent on her. If a woman goes to prison because of failure to pay a large fine, she is really imprisoned for debt. Since fines merely encourage offenders to continue illegal traffic, they practically license prostitution. We convict men and send them to prison for living on the earnings of prostitution, yet continue to receive into our city treasuries money which is the proceeds of prostitution. Our awakened conscience should no longer tolerate this. The fining system is a license system and should be abolished.

A good behavior bond is no more effective than a fine. It is practically the same as a fine. By payment of a fee to a bondsman—usually ten per cent. of the amount of the bond—the defendant can secure release. Property owners who have made big profits from prostitution, are very willing to sign such bonds. They receive more than adequate compensation for their trouble, and even if the defendant is rearrested during the period covered by the bond, they suffer no danger of forfeiture.

Suspended sentence without probation is almost useless. The prisoner is discharged under condition that if he violates

the law during the period in which sentence is suspended he may be committed. Yet no one helps him to establish himself in the community, and no one supervises him to know of further violation. Only in case of arrest for another offense and arraignment in the same court is the fact likely to be discovered. Then for some offenses he may be sentenced for a longer term because of a previous conviction. Suspended sentence is regarded by defendants as almost equal to absolute discharge.

Only in exceptional cases is probation a suitable disposition for keepers of disorderly resorts, procurers, and traffickers. Men and women who exploit girls through prostitution are usually beyond the point where they can be helped by being released at once in society. They need the discipline of being withdrawn from society for a time at least, and society needs protection against them. Only by that means can any deterrent effect be realized.

Commitment to reformatory or prison is usually considered severe. Although very short sentences are regarded lightly by those who have previously served them, offenders will do almost anything to escape long terms of commitment. They prize freedom from restraint more than any other possession. In committing keepers of houses of prostitution and other exploiters of vice, we have in most states no alternative except to send them to prisons. Some of the younger men and less hardened women should be sent to reformatories.

Use of prisons, reformatories, and probation in cases of girls and women convicted of soliciting on the streets and of other offenses relating to prostitution, will be taken up in the following chapters.

Consideration of methods of dealing with offenders shows clearly that fines in all cases should be abolished, and defendants convicted of more serious crimes committed to institutions. Only by this means will courts support efforts of police officers in suppressing commercialized vice.

PUBLIC OPINION

The greatest power in securing efficient and honest enforcement of law is an awakened public opinion. Laws remain cold and dead on statute books unless their enforcement is approved and demanded by the general public. Police, judges, and mayors who enforce laws when no public demand exists for enforcement are doomed to unpopularity, if not to failure of re-election or to removal. On the other hand, an alert and eager public can secure the dismissal of an important official who fails to do his duty, or can elect officials who will execute, not merely "swear" to execute the laws.

This power of the people was clearly demonstrated by the city of Seattle in 1911, when it recalled a mayor because of his policy of open vice and elected a man pledged to law enforcement. During the régime of a mayor who openly declared his approval of a segregated district, the number and size of "crib houses" increased; prostitutes, procurers, and criminals flocked to the city from all parts of the country, and Seattle became notorious as the trading centre in women for Alaska, British Columbia, and cities of the great northwest. A large "crib house" containing separate rooms for 300 prostitutes, reached by an elevated sidewalk built at city expense solely to afford easy access to this building, stands now empty and deserted, as a monument to that administration which assisted and fostered vice. When citizens realized the dangers menacing their young sons and daughters from presence of such flagrant vice and crime, they took action. Women used their newly granted power of suffrage to splendid purpose. Their votes were the deciding factor in recalling a mayor faithless to his trust and in establishing a new era of law enforcement and suppression of prostitution. Although the deposed mayor has been re-elected since, it was only after he had admitted his grave error in judgment with regard to his former method of

dealing with vice, and convinced the citizens of Seattle that he would support their policy of suppression.

That public opinion may do its utmost in helping to enforce laws, it must not only *favor*, but *demand* their enforcement; it must stand by officials in their efforts to improve conditions and it must constantly approve high moral standards.

Truth about results of toleration and segregation of vice is requisite as a basis for a public demand for law enforcement. We have heard that the evil is necessary, that it has always existed, and always will exist, and that it is a protection to virtuous women. Consequently, one of two methods has usually been adopted; either it has been tolerated with no effort to control it, or rules have been made for its regulation. Some results of these methods have been described in authoritative statements of police officials. Others are to be found in reports of municipal vice commissions and investigating committees, and in the publications of the Bureau of Social Hygiene. Toleration without regulation has produced such dreadful evils that efforts to control vice have necessarily followed. In most places regulation has resulted in trying to confine prostitution in a section known as the segregated district. What has been the result?

Segregation has failed to segregate. No city in the United States or Europe is able to prove that it has segregated vice. It has not succeeded in segregating the women; it has not attempted to segregate men. In every city where a policy of segregation has been pursued, some prostitutes have always lived outside of the districts. Usually the number of women outside has been greater than the number within.

Regulation of vice has not checked venereal disease. Compulsory and voluntary systems of medical control have failed. No system of medical examinations has been adequate to control the situation. Even if examination of women had been more frequent and more scientific, lack of examination of men would have thwarted all efforts at control. Attempt at medical

control tends to increase vice through assuring false security to men.

Regulation of vice has not prevented attacks on innocent girls. No statement based on carefully studied facts shows that under a policy of suppression, attacks have been more frequent. Prosecutions are becoming more frequent with awakening of public opinion against such crimes and with improved laws.

Vice districts have been markets for girls. Procurers can dispose of their victims or "break them in" more easily in a district which is free from molestation by police. Segregated vice stimulates traffic in girls.

Vice districts attract curious young men. A "red light" district is one of the "sights" of the city which strangers and young men are induced to visit. Many of these men would not seek out hidden resorts. The first step is curiosity; the next, immorality. The "district" insures freedom from arrest and unpleasant notoriety.

Segregated vice has increased commercialization of vice. Large sums are invested which must yield returns. Therefore, vice is advertised widely, and its volume greatly increased. As business is stimulated by being concentrated in one locality, concentration of vice stimulates trade.

Regulation of vice closes the way of escape for women. After once entering a district, no opportunities appear for leaving prostitution. Incentives are lacking. Women are not brought by arrest within jurisdiction of the court. Girls who have been many years in districts have told me no effort was ever made to help them abandon the life. Their registration at police headquarters when they entered, made this step a final decision.

Vice districts attract young women. Girls who would not voluntarily enter prostitution in other ways, step easily from immorality to prostitution by entering a known district.

Toleration of vice has increased the number of procurers, outlaws, and criminals in cities. Evidence from many sources

is available to show that when vice has flourished, there have been many of these hangers-on; when districts have been abolished large numbers of them have disappeared.

When persons are allowed to violate laws there is constant temptation to police corruption. Women will pay to live outside the district and for other privileges. Discretion in such an important matter should not be left to the police.

Tolerated vice gives public sanction to prostitution. By the stamp of public approval, cities have become partners in the vicious system, have helped to increase the volume of vice, and have officially recognized a different moral standard for men and women. It makes the city a chief procurer, responsible for the sacrifice of innocent girls to keep up the supply.

The breakdown of systems of regulation and medical supervision in European countries, where they have been much more thoroughly tested than in America, is convincing proof of their failure. Regulation has been abandoned in Denmark, Norway, and Great Britain and in many cities in other countries, because it has failed to control prostitutes or to lessen venereal disease. Failure of the system in Paris was clearly shown to me. One morning I saw 119 women, a number of them young girls not eighteen years old, file out of two gloomy detention pens at the *Dépot*—the prison where they were herded for the night. All had failed to be inscribed as prostitutes, or after having medical examinations for a time, had not "come to control." Reasons for avoiding police supervision were obvious. If inscribed, their families might know of the step they had taken; if under eighteen, they would be returned to their own country, or committed to the prison at Fresnes; if they were diseased, they would be locked in the prison hospital at St. Lazare.

Utility of attempts to regulate prostitution in the United States has been clearly shown by investigation, statements of police officials, and action of cities. Loud protests have arisen whenever genuine attempts at medical control have been made.

X In St. Louis where it was tried from 1870 to 1874, it utterly failed. In San Francisco, where for the years 1911-1913 prostitutes were obliged to come every four days for medical examination at the Municipal Clinic, under the control of a board of private citizens, public opinion became so powerful that the mayor withdrew the order making it compulsory. Those most familiar with conditions declared that only a small proportion of prostitutes in San Francisco were included in the total group of 2,000 women examined at the clinic.

✓ Change in medical control in San Francisco was not accompanied by other changes in the system of regulation. As I walked through Bartlett and Washington Alleys, one evening in 1913, just after medical control was abandoned, I saw more than a hundred men swarming those two dark, narrow streets only a block in length, entering the different houses of prostitution. At the same time lights, music, and advertisement of resorts on the Barbary Coast were attracting many patrons. Women in streets, cafés, and restaurants were also soliciting patronage. It is unfortunate that public opinion in San Francisco did not go further than to withdraw medical examination, and did not demand that registration of prostitutes cease and that the disgraceful Barbary Coast and segregated districts be forever abolished.

In every city where segregated districts have been closed, police, courts and mayors have obeyed the demand of the public. New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Boston, St. Louis, Seattle, Atlanta, Rochester, Denver, Cleveland, Pittsburg and many other cities have heard that call; finally San Francisco and even New Orleans will hear it.

✓ It is significant that seventeen vice commissions, after complete surveys in fifteen cities and two states have unanimously agreed upon abolition of segregated vice and constant repression of vice. The Chicago Commission in 1911 recommended "constant and persistent repression of prostitution as the immediate method; absolute annihilation as the ultimate ideal."

When they began their investigations, many of these commissions had members who were strong advocates of segregation; when they completed their surveys, without exception, all were convinced that the only feasible policy was suppression of vice.

In dealing with this problem, public opinion must go further than demanding the breaking up of districts. It must continue to demand that vice be lessened and commercialization eliminated by a persistent war upon exploiters of vice. In order to accomplish this it must stand solidly behind officials charged with enforcement of laws.

Police, district attorneys, judges and mayors must have unwavering support of public opinion to make effective their efforts at law enforcement. The public should not tolerate unjust and insidious attacks made by political enemies upon sincere, honest officials. So frequent have such attacks been against police commissioners, judges, mayors, law-makers, and other public officers, that the best citizens are often deterred from seeking or accepting public positions. When the righteous forces in every community are as alert to uphold and defend good officials as evil forces are to discredit them, big results will follow.

After the first wave of sentiment demanding changed conditions has passed, the public often forgets. But men making profits from vice do not forget. They say, "Wait a few months till this blows over." Then they return and more strongly intrench themselves. Officials who did their duty eagerly when the public was alive to the situation, fall back into the same indifferent mood that the public assumes. If aggressive work of officers is to be permanent, public interest and support must be permanent. That keen public interest be kept alive, every small and large city should have an organization charged with the duty of knowing whether or not laws are enforced, giving authoritative facts to the public about enforcement of laws, and upholding efforts of officials charged with that duty.

Above everything else, public support should be expressed in

its most effective way—by electing to office mayors pledged to a policy of law enforcement. Vice interests always demand of the mayor who wins their votes an “open” policy; honorable citizens determined to have clean cities should demand of their candidate a “closed” policy. Vice interests are powerful in making it worth while to disregard laws; an enlightened public must make it worth while to officials to enforce laws. Only by united, persistent, and powerful support can this be done. In the election of mayors and other public officials, all citizens, women as well as men, should have a voice.

Before public opinion can consistently support vigorous enforcement of law it must approve higher moral standards throughout society. Non-enforcement of laws in European countries has been the reflection of low moral standards. Enforcement of law must inevitably be the reflection of higher standards. When the public becomes fully sensitive to the evils of prostitution, it will not only demand that laws against vice be enforced, but that men live cleaner lives. It will not recognize prostitution as a “necessary evil.” It will face the problem squarely, and estimate the dire results of prostitution in diseased bodies, in great economic waste, in widespread disorder, and in demoralization of character. It will see the uselessness of striking at various manifestations of the evil, while not going to the source. Gradually it will sanction and approve a standard of morality among men which makes prostitution intolerable. Not until public opinion accepts such a standard, will the blow be struck which will make effective the enforcement of laws against vice.

It is difficult to estimate what results may come from a policy of persistent, vigorous, honest law enforcement. As a first step districts of vice will be closed. As long as some cities retain these strongholds, and do not enforce laws, prostitutes and resort-owners will flock there. The tolerated house will go. Street soliciting will be banished from the highways. Dance halls, saloons, hotels, massage parlors, rooming houses, and re-

sorts of all kinds that now cater to vice will be under more rigid control. Activities of exploiters, traffickers, and men who live on the earnings of prostitution, will be checked. Police who neglect to do their duty will be tried for malfeasance in office and duly prosecuted. Courts will support police officials by more reasonable rulings and more adequate sentences. Public opinion will constantly prod every agency and demand that war upon vice be unceasing. As a result, the supply of young women to prostitution will be greatly reduced; the stimulation of demand through advertisement will be lessened; the profits of exploiters will be eliminated, and the volume of vice diminished. Young women who have entered prostitution will be given opportunities through temporary homes, probation, reformatories, and farm colonies, to be freed from their wretched lives. Do not such results warrant that police, courts, and public unite in a vigorous campaign of law enforcement?

CHAPTER VI

WAVERLEY HOUSE AND A MUNICIPAL HOUSE OF DETENTION

Waverley House was established in New York City in 1908 to provide a home where delinquent young women could remain temporarily while effort was made to discover their individual needs and the best plan of helping them, where witnesses could be cared for apart from overcrowded cells and more hardened offenders, and where girls discharged or released on probation could come when willing to escape from their wretched surroundings. It was obvious from the beginning that the work of such a place was rightly a public function and that a demonstration of the value and need of such an institution should lead to a Municipal House of Detention.

In the magistrates' courts it was not at all unusual to release young women the same night of their arrest without preliminary investigation. As a probation officer, I knew nothing about them except what they told me, and was unable, therefore, to help them in the best way. Often they gave false names and addresses and left no clue to their whereabouts. Young girls detained as witnesses or held in prison awaiting sentence, occupied the same cells with women hardened in vice and crime. At times witnesses were intimidated by older women who had abducted them, and were induced to change their testimony.

When such a girl was released by the court, frequently she had no place to spend the night, or perhaps only the furnished room where she had been living with the man whom she supported. Under these circumstances, I was often successful in securing her consent to go to a "home" temporarily until I could find work for her or write to her family and arrange for her to return to her home in another city. But even when I

secured her consent, I was never certain of finding a "home" that would take her. Often I would knock in vain at the door of one "rescue home" and then another only to find that no one answered the bell or that there was no vacant bed. When I did succeed in finding temporary shelter for the girl, my request that she should not leave the home until I came for her, was frequently unheeded.

One Sunday morning in September, 1907, after a long Saturday night in court, I left Jefferson Market Court with a seventeen-year-old girl who had been placed on probation under my care. She had come from a Long Island village three weeks before, and had been vainly searching for the father of her unborn child. Her small savings were quickly spent for food and the rent of a furnished room. She said, "I tried to work but I couldn't. I felt too ill to stand up all day. I had no money at all." One night she was standing by the stairway leading to an elevated station, wondering how she could end her troubles, when a man approached her. In desperation she accepted the opportunity of earning money in a way that she had never known. "I was hungry," she said. "My room-rent was behind and what could I do! A girl can't starve, you know." She was arrested this first night on the streets. Two homes where I sought temporary shelter for her were full. Mattresses spread on the floor of parlor and hall showed that the first place was crowded. As the door was opened, a woman turned over on her mattress, mumbling and cursing, and then sank off into her drunken stupor. "She always comes back when she's been drinking, and to-night this was the only place we had for her," said the kindly-faced matron. "I'm sorry the last mattress is taken." The next home was crowded, but would have a vacant bed in two days. I promised to bring the young woman back. In the meantime some provision had to be made. When after half-past-four that morning, I was still unsuccessful in my search, I brought the exhausted girl with me to my own apartment and gave her the opportunity to rest and sleep. "It's

good to have a friend," she said as she grasped my hand in hers. "I've had no one in New York." Before this, a temporary home for girls had been a hope. That night I determined it must be a reality.

With small financial resources, but with big faith and ideals for the work, the home was opened February 1, 1908. Two floors of a private house in West Tenth Street were secured, and the rent of \$50 a month pledged for a year. Need for more room caused us to lease the entire house from the first of May. Instead of caring for ten girls, we were then able to take from 20 to 25. While we were seeking a name which would not offensively suggest a place for delinquents, the girls called it the "Probation Home." From its proximity to Waverley Place, we chose the name "Waverley House." We decided to post no sign which would distinguish this from other red brick dwellings on the street, and had not realized that it was marked until one of the girls returning to visit us said, "I knew where to find it all right. I just looked for the red geraniums."

Soon after Waverley House was opened men and women interested in the home met and formed the New York Probation Association. In May, 1908, the new organization was completed, and Hon. Charles S. Whitman elected President. The Association at once assumed responsibility for Waverley House and adopted a larger program of reformative and preventive work. Its specified objects were "to improve the probation system in the courts, to maintain a home or homes for girls released on probation or paroled in the custody of probation officers, and to assist in other ways in the reformation of offenders and the prevention of crime."

From the first, Waverley House was a temporary place of detention where a girl remained a few days or weeks, during which time we did all in our power to discover her needs with a view to formulating a plan for aiding her. The distinctive thing about Waverley House has been this "individual method" of work.

THE INDIVIDUAL METHOD

Each young woman who comes to us has her own problems and needs quite distinct from those facing any other girl. Different forces have contributed toward her delinquency, and varied influences have been responsible for her continuance in an immoral life. Understanding of her mental and physical condition, her home environment, her education, and knowledge of any work or trade, aids us in determining a plan for helping her. The first step is to hear her story, then to verify it by thorough investigation. A physical and mental examination is given each girl. As the result of such observation, examination, and investigation, we have information which enables us to decide the best disposition in the case of each individual.

Telling the Story

Almost immediately after entering Waverley House the girl tells her story to a sympathetic woman. At first she is suspicious and tries to deceive. Only as she becomes convinced of our sincerity of purpose and realizes that we "mean good" for her, is she willing to reveal the truth. She states her age, birthplace, religion, education, occupation, and the names, addresses, and ages of different members of her family. She tells what grade she had reached in school, the length of time and wages received in different positions, and of favorite forms of amusement. If she is married, she gives the information about her husband, date and place of marriage, and names and ages of children. If an alien, she names date and port of entry to the United States, the steamer on which she sailed, and the name under which she came. She is encouraged to tell of her health and habits, of orphan asylums, hospitals, or reformatories where she has been, and of previous arrests. From her personal history, we learn of her attitude toward her home and family, her first steps in immorality, and the story of her delinquency. Even though reasons assigned by her to account for her waywardness

may not be true, they are significant. At times she is reluctant about telling of her immoral living; again she speaks freely of the man who deceived her or brought her into prostitution.

The tact of the questioner, together with her genuine sympathy and understanding, prevent the girl from being antagonized. By suggestion rather than by formal question, it is possible to lead from one point to another and direct the story in such a way that a logical statement is secured. Girls must be made to feel that the motive in questioning is to elicit the truth for the purpose of helping them. They are keen to detect the difference between real and feigned interest in them. Only one or two persons responsible for formulating a plan for the girl's future welfare, or concerned with prosecuting a case in which she is complaining witness should talk to her about her delinquency. It is most unwise for teachers and matrons to encourage repetition of the story.

If the statement is a tissue of falsehoods, it is quite possible to detect it. The girl often begins by giving a false name and address, and by denying that she has father, mother, or near relative living. By this means she seeks to protect her parents from disgrace, and to prevent them from knowing of her wrongdoing. The woman taking the statement must be quick to observe discrepancies and contradictions and to bring them out so clearly that the girl realizes she is not deceiving. If the truth is not revealed by the first interview, others must be held until the entire story is learned.

Investigation

The statement secured at Waverley House is thoroughly investigated. This is necessary in confirming or disproving the girl's story, in determining her age, in revealing favorable and unfavorable factors in her environment and her heredity, and the attitude of parents toward her waywardness, and in discovering persons who have contributed toward her delinquency. Not until we know these facts, are we able to judge as to the best

disposition in the case of each individual or the extent to which we can count upon co-operation of parents and relatives in helping her.

A complete investigation includes visits to the girl's home, to her school and places of employment, to relatives, institutions, or organizations interested in her, and to various places where she has lived in or near New York City. If her home is in another city, letters or telegrams must be sent to some individual or organization, or if advisable, to the police department there, with the request to make the necessary investigation. Even though the young woman may not have given the true facts at first, when confronted with absolute proof, she usually consents to make a complaint against the man who has wronged her.

When we send the girl back to her home or to work, we find that this relationship established by the investigator with different members of the family is of great service. We count upon their help in supervising her and in reporting further delinquency. If she runs away from her place of employment or disappears from home, parents turn at once to us to aid in locating her.

While making investigations great discretion is used in giving information about the girl. It is unnecessary to tell about the girl's waywardness except to those most directly concerned in helping her. Even then, it is not wise to give details. Only in special instances, as for example when we wish the girl to return to her former place of work in a family, is it advisable to let an employer know about her trouble.

Physical Examination

To determine whether or not a girl has an infectious disease, or is otherwise in need of medical care, she receives a physical examination at once after entering Waverley House. This enables us to know whether or not she should remain in association with other young women or be transferred to a hospital for treatment. It guides us later in placing her at work or in send-

ing her back to her home. It enables us also to provide necessary medical treatment and to remedy irritating conditions.

This examination by a woman physician includes a complete inspection of eyes, teeth, throat, heart, lungs, back and pelvic organs, with clinical examination and blood tests for venereal disease. Since 1911 the Wasserman test for syphilis and the complement fixation test for gonorrhœa have been uniformly applied. Of 893 women examined for venereal disease, 374, or 41.9 per cent., had syphilis or gonorrhœa or both diseases.

When complete physical examination was established as part of the routine at the time of opening Waverley House, it was looked upon with suspicion by several women who had been engaged in reformatory work. It was believed that girls would object to it and that it would prevent others from being willing to enter the home. Our experience, however, has been quite to the contrary. When the purpose has been explained, almost without exception girls have consented to an examination and been grateful for it.

On the basis of the examination, treatment has been given. A seventeen-year-old Italian girl, Maria, who had been taken by a procurer to Hartford, was found to be suffering from tuberculosis and sent to a hospital. Many times during the long months she threatened to leave the institution, but each time was persuaded to remain. Twice when granted leave of absence for the day, she was taken to the park or to the theatre. After visiting the "Blue Bird for Happiness," Maria said, "It's just like a dream that I've had this wonderful afternoon. I can't believe it's true." The last time I saw Maria in the hospital shortly before her death, as she stretched out her thin hand and grasped mine, she said, "I'm so thankful for all you done for me and for sending me here. Oh, if I could only tell other girls what that life is like and what I've suffered so they wouldn't be foolish like me!"

Another young woman who had been brought from a small Indiana town under promise of marriage, and placed in a house

of prostitution in New York, consented to go to a hospital for treatment for venereal disease. In a tone of resignation, she said, "If the doctor says it's the only thing to do, I suppose I've got to go. I'd rather wait two years before I go home than harm my little brother or sister." After three months' treatment in the hospital, she was able to return to her home and by following the physician's directions, to continue treatment there.

Mental Examinations

In giving us an understanding of the young women at Waverley House, a mental examination is a very important factor. At first only girls believed to be insane or feeble-minded were examined, but since 1912 all young women entering the home have been tested mentally. This has proved to be of great value, not only in determining those in need of custodial care because of insanity or feeble-mindedness, but in disclosing abilities, limitations, and general efficiency of these delinquent women.

Young women believed to be insane or feeble-minded were taken for examination to the psychopathic ward at Bellevue Hospital. The first girl who entered Waverley House from the Night Court, February, 1908, was soon found to be insane. She had been wandering around the streets all day without food, and was hungry and cold when discovered by a policeman outside of a disorderly resort. This sixteen-year-old Austrian girl had come to the country a few months before and had no relatives or friends in New York. After remaining a few days at Waverley House, she showed signs of insanity, was committed through the court to the psychopathic ward at Bellevue Hospital, and deported to her home country. Another girl, Ada R., placed on probation without preliminary investigation, was returned to court and sent to a hospital for the insane. The first intimation that Ada was mentally irresponsible came from the discovery that she was constantly tearing and throwing small bits of paper from the window of her room at Waverley

House into the yard below and then when she cleaned the yard, complaining bitterly of finding them there. Soon she accused another girl of trying to poison her. Investigations revealed that she had been in two "rescue homes" in New York; had entered the State Industrial School at Rochester when fifteen years of age, and had given birth to two illegitimate children in a county poorhouse. After observation at Bellevue Hospital, she was committed to an insane asylum, where she remained seven years. Within a year after her release from that institution, she was committed to a custodial institution for feeble-minded women.

Since 1912, mental examinations conducted under the supervision of Mr. Frederick Ellis have been very complete. In addition to the use of the Binet and Simon scale, a group of general intelligence tests devised or arranged by Mr. Ellis have been used. These tests are designed to deal with establishment of general mental habits, readiness in meeting particular situations, power of continuous effort, ability to construct under given conditions, ability to form and maintain purposes, and precision in dealing with like and different alternatives.¹

Instead of applying tests for the separate years, according to the Binet-Simon system, certain groups of tests are applied to measure abilities characteristic of different growth periods, such as childhood, pre-adolescence, adolescence, post-adolescence and early maturity. Variations from normal development as shown by the tests, are interpreted in terms of these growth periods.

The very full reports made by Mr. Ellis on the basis of the examinations have been of great practical value in understanding and dealing with the individual girl. They indicate the desirable method of treatment, whether custodial or correc-

¹ For description of tests, see Fourth Annual Report of Neurological Institute, for the year ending Nov. 3, 1913, p. 38; also Seventh Annual Report of New York Probation and Protective Association, 1914-1915, p. 37.

tional; they often give constructive suggestions as to the kind of employment, and show us what we may expect from our efforts at rehabilitation. The method of interpreting tests, and the resulting diagnoses may be illustrated by two of Mr. Ellis' statements.

A report in March, 1913, of the examination of an Italian girl confirmed our belief that she needed continued custodial care. When sixteen years old, Evelyn had remained at Waverley House as a witness against the man who had taken her away from her wretched home to lead an immoral life and to steal. After the man was convicted, Evelyn was committed to a reformatory for a year. In spite of our efforts to help her after her release, she resumed her immoral living and married a man whom she supported by prostitution. When efforts to commit her to an institution for the feeble-minded failed, we had her sent for a maximum period of three years to a state reformatory. The report follows:

Physical Examination There is nothing observed in the present condition of the nervous system that might contribute to her wayward conduct or present mental state. The records at Waverley House show that she had chronic syphilis in 1909, an abdominal operation in 1910, and a pelvic operation in 1912. These operations, together with her specific infection and her loose habits of life for some years, must have seriously depleted her physical and mental energy.

Heredity Her parents were people of simple minds, bordering on mental feebleness. Evelyn was the third child, the two older being apparently normal without showing any unusual mental ability. After her came seven children who died at birth or in early infancy, and an eighth who died with the mother in parturition. The mother's sister also had eleven births and of these one was a miscarriage and four were still-born or died in early infancy. The family history is not favorable for vigor of body or mind and there are no indications

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that this girl could hope to endure the strain of an irregular life.

Personal History

Her school history is poor and her life has always tended toward irregularity. There has been rather a constant development of her waywardness, and this in spite of influences which operate favorably for the two older children and in spite of their excellent example and unselfish efforts in her behalf.

Binet-Simon Test

At the time of the examination she was 20 years, 7 months old, and her mental age by this test was 9.4. She passed all of the 8 year tests, three of the 9, two of the 10 and two of the 12 year tests. This would indicate an irregular advance through later childhood and into early adolescence with possibly some deterioration due to her physical condition and mental habits.

General Intelligence Test

She has a fair degree of insight into simple situations and a fair set of permanent adjustments to her environment, and is oriented in time, place and with relation to persons and the means of communication through spoken and written language. Her general ability is low and her responses to situations while satisfactory in variety are inferior in quality. There is considerable disparity between her general insight and her immediate responses to new situations. She does not grasp situations that are full of details and is baffled by any elaboration of form.

Her motor performances are very poor. Her use of simple language lacks fluency and correctness. This disparity between general insight and responses to current situations is so considerable as to suggest a depreciation of an originally moderate degree of mental adjustability.

She has almost no power of intensifying her interest in objects and her attention is so low that it does not extend beyond the objects to the relations between them. She makes very poor asso-

ciations and hardly recognizes associations of a familiar sort. She is unable to maintain any interest in accuracy of performance. Her imagination is very inactive and she is unable to do any good constructive work. There are no signs of a useful degree of foresight and no ability to work under the influence of a chosen method. She seems to have little power of selecting between alternatives and no power to assemble alternatives for a judgment. There is little comprehension of the significance of ideas and very little power of discrimination; her distinctions are only recognitions of simple differences in the most objective situations.

Diagnosis

A low degree of mentality; no significant advance into later childhood and adolescence; even the abilities of childhood are deteriorating through lack of use and through abuse. The margin of effort is lowered almost to the point of disappearance and there is a poor chance of raising it on account of the nature and extent of the inroads made on her slender original store of mental and physical energy. There is a moderate degree of responsiveness to appeals to her imagination, but this is almost passive in its degree of activity; there is little free movement of mind in the direction of constructive imagination. There is a remnant of emotional interest in personal relations lasting over from early childhood but this does not rise higher than the tide of impulses coming from her unhealthy field of sense stimulations. There is no active sense of responsibility and no capacity for being educated in ideas of method or duty on even the childhood level. She is not responsible for her conduct and is best classified with the feeble-minded. She will inevitably do wrong unless placed under conditions of strict and salutary control.

The next report is that of Laura R., brought to Waverley House in 1911, after her procurer-husband had failed in his

purpose to place her in a house of prostitution in Norfolk, Virginia.

Physical Examination There was nothing to note in her physical condition at the time of her examination, except the marked hypotonus of elbows and knees and sluggish abdominal and epigastric reflexes, which may be connected with a possible hysteria. Examination for syphilis and gonorrhea made at the Board of Health, August 22, are reported as negative. There is an indefinite report that she had convulsions following scarlet fever at 9 years of age, and an attack of spinal meningitis lasting six months at 11 years of age.

Family History

The father is said to have rheumatism and eczema, both in a chronic form. The mother has asthma and stomach trouble, is very irritable, has terrible rages and is thought by some neighbors to be insane. A brother, age 17, is incorrigible and has once run away from home. A brother and sister are self-supporting and the sister is said to be very religious.

Personal History

She went to public school and by her own statement was left back five times, and never took any interest in study. She was in 6-B when she left school at the age of 14. From 1909 to 1911 she was employed in at least seven places earning from \$3.50 to \$8 a week. Among these positions was one as floor clerk in a hotel where she was charged with immoral relations with guests. In 1911, at the age of 16, she ran away with a gambler and crook she had known two weeks and was married. She was brought home and efforts made to get her employment and to reform her through the agency of Waverley House. There is a long record, covering two years, of altercations at home, an indifferent attitude toward work, with constant change of employment, continued companionship with men, girls and women of doubtful character, free use of beer and tobacco, and during the entire

time she is on the border line of prostitution and criminality. In July and August, 1913, she was in Atlantic City living in immoral relations with a man with whom she became acquainted after losing a position with a florist there.

The mother is the only one of those in contact with her who is recorded as thinking her conduct related in some way to her attack of meningitis. On September 5, 1913, after the completion of this record, she had an attack at Waverley House, which, from the description and the history of similar attacks lasting as long as three hours a day, may be taken as confirming the mental diagnosis of hysteria or hystero-epilepsy.

Binet-Simon Test Her age is 18 years, 7 months, and her mental age by this test is 10 years. She passed all of the 8 year, four of the 9 year, three of the 10 year, two of the 12 year and one of the 15 year tests. This indicates an uncertain advance into later childhood, probably under some condition of handicap, with little signs of any development of adolescent abilities. While there is an irregular distribution of successes and failures, the general result is not sufficiently broken to suggest an epileptic retardation. ✓

General Intelligence Test Her adjustments to situations involving time and place are uncertain, and correspond with a general fitfulness of attitude toward all situations calling for mental effort. Her adjustments to numerical order and use of language symbols are better and would be satisfactory in a child of 8 or 9 years. She is somewhat ready in making new adjustments, but her skill in manipulation is not very great. She applies herself with effort and her associations are laborious and superficial.

She is most unsatisfactory in her efforts at construction; she cannot add correctly or rapidly, she cannot perform simple arithmetical calculations; she cannot invent simple patterns, and she has no free movement of imagination in story-making.

Her selection of alternatives given to her is much better than her imagination and much better than any of her other mental performances. Altogether she shows a great deal of mental passivity and suggestibility; these probably have a direct connection with the occurrence, since puberty, of periodical states of excitement and of obscuration of consciousness.

Diagnosis

Sexual hysteria, approaching a major form, with a slight possibility of hystero-epilepsy. There is considerable relaxation of mental effort, which is the more serious as it takes place in connection with a mental condition showing no marked development since early childhood; the arrest may be the outcome of an attack of meningitis. She is not manageable in her present family surroundings, and hardly manageable under the conditions existing in any family. The main requisite in her case is absolute and unremitting control, and this should be continued for some time. It probably will be better to consider her as a correctional case rather than to associate her with the merely feeble-minded.

Observations at Waverley House

Observation of girls at Waverley House confirms and supplements the formal mental examinations. The work they do in the home tests their adaptability, skill in executing tasks, industry, and resourcefulness. While girls are performing household duties or working in the various classes, they reveal unconsciously to observing matrons and teachers their neatness, accuracy, speed, perseverance, and capacity to grasp and execute directions.

In order that such observations shall be of value, they should be extended for a week or longer. A few days only are not sufficient to bring out the abilities and limitations of these young women. Witnesses and girls released under our care are not limited to a brief time; but frequently young women paroled

from the magistrates' courts are sent for a period of only two or three days.

LIFE AND WORK OF GIRLS AT WAVERLEY HOUSE

At the same time that we are making every effort to understand each girl while she is at Waverley House, we seek also to utilize the brief period of residence to train her for useful work and to stimulate in her a desire for honest living.

A program designed to keep girls occupied as much as possible is adopted. Making beds, cleaning rooms, waiting on table, and laundering clothes, give valuable experience in practical work; classes in sewing, shirtwaist-making, and millinery afford opportunity for definite training. Girls are enthusiastic about making hats and dresses when they are permitted to keep the product of their labor. They make shirt-waists and underclothes not only to wear in Waverley House, but to take with them when they go out to work. There is time for the study of English, for basket classes, weaving on a hand loom, knitting and embroidery. Frequent travel talks illustrated by stereopticon slides, games and music on the weekly "play night," birthday parties and holiday festivities give opportunities for wholesome recreation. Nearly every evening the piano or the victrola is played. The favorite records chosen by the girls include not only popular songs, but selections from operas, symphonies, and an occasional hymn.

Attention is given to the physical needs of girls. Many learn for the first time the value of wide-open windows at night, of daily baths, and of regular gymnastic exercise. Walks and omnibus rides take girls out-of-doors. Occasional outings are given in the summer at park or seashore.

Waverley House recognizes that the greatest influence in changing characters and lives is the spiritual. Girls go in small groups to the church of their faith. A simple vesper service, with an evening hymn and prayer, calls them apart for a brief time after the duties of the day are over and turns their thoughts

to the spiritual. The influence of this little service lingers long in the minds and hearts of girls who have been at Waverley House. Deep vital truths coming through the weekly Sunshine Class give them strength and inspiration, and abide as a power in their lives. In personal talks with girls, we urge them to forget the things that are behind and to reach forward with new hope and courage to those that are before. We seek to inspire new faith in what life may be and to convince them that happy, useful lives are still possible for them. We try to awaken the soul of the girl, to find the divine spark and kindle it into flame.

More than any formal teaching, the daily personal influence of workers brings about a change in the spirit of girls. The embittered, suspicious girl, apparently without any hope, finds herself gradually changing under the warmth of genuine sympathy and understanding. Love of father, mother, or child, is revived as a power in her life. Meeting sincerity of spirit, she feels that she must be sincere. Frequently a girl comes to the superintendent and says, "Now I see into it all; I'm going to try to be a different girl when I go out"; or "I know the difference now and I'll go back home and try my best." She leaves Waverley House with the determination to prove worthy of the confidence placed in her.

WHEN GIRLS LEAVE WAVERLEY HOUSE

According to the needs of the girl, a plan for her future is recommended. A brief written report on girls paroled from the court, is often presented to the judge, as a guide in making the most satisfactory disposition. This report gives the result of the investigations, mental and physical examinations, and observation at Waverley House. It indicates further, whether it is preferable that she should be released on probation or committed to a reformatory, or sent to a custodial institution for the insane or feeble-minded.

When the girl is not under the jurisdiction of the court and

the responsibility of deciding with regard to her future falls entirely upon workers at Waverley House, one of several courses is adopted. Girls judged to be in need of reformative care are taken to court and committed to a reformatory. Those found to be so retarded in mental development as to need custodial care are sent to an institution for the feeble-minded or committed through a court of record to one of the existing institutions for the mentally deficient. All women requiring medical care are sent directly to a hospital for treatment. Those needing convalescent care are sent to the country to recuperate. Girls found to be in the United States in violation of the immigration law are transferred to Ellis Island for deportation. Provision is made for girls having suitable homes in New York or other cities to return to them. When necessary, railroad tickets are provided. Positions are found for those who are able to go to work.

Great care is taken to know that the relatives or friends to whom the girls go are able to help them; that places of employment are adapted to their abilities, and afford protected environment; that necessary treatment is given in hospitals and that girls are befriended while in them and after leaving.

HILLCREST FARM

Lack of suitable places in the country where we could send delinquent girls when in need of a few weeks of rest or after they had been ill, led to the opening in 1909 of Hillcrest Farm as a summer home.

Girls who had never been in the country before, discovered a new world of fields, flowers, birds, trees and stars, and learned to love the out-of-doors. As they followed the outlines of constellations and listened to stories about them, they could hardly believe that the same wonderful stars shone over the big city. One day as we returned late from a black-berrying trip and saw the great red sun disappear behind the western hills and watched the tiny clouds and the lake become golden, I asked sixteen-

year-old Hilda beside me, if she had ever seen such a beautiful sunset. After a moment's pause, she answered: "Why, Miss Miner, I never seen but two sunsets in all my life." The beauties of sun and sky had been hidden by lofty tenements and crowded streets.

The early morning swim, long walks through the woods, and trips on the water, were a delight. When we pulled weeds from the garden, watered flowers, helped with the housework, or gathered firewood, work became play. As all joined with eagerness and zest, there was healthy rivalry to see who could accomplish most. When we gathered around the camp fire to toast marshmallows and tell stories, or when we went out on the rocks or under the trees for a talk or an evening song, the same good spirit prevailed.

Mothers and babies and girls who had been ill or exhausted, gained new health and vigor from the out-of-door life and the bracing air. A girl who came to Hillcrest, after six weeks in a hospital, said: "I feel so different now. I never dreamed there was anything so beautiful in all the world." A young German woman who had cried in utter despair when she first came to me in Night Court, "I'se a lost woman; I'se a lost woman; I like I kill myself," said, with a wonderful new light on her face, after three weeks at Hillcrest, "My baby look so goot; I work hard for him now. I try to be a goot mudder to him."

Girls appreciated not only new interests and the physical benefits, but association with workers who encouraged and helped them. Opportunities for long, frank talks together made it easier to reach them and to aid in solving their individual problems. Many girls said that they saw their way ahead more clearly and were stronger to meet the temptations and struggles before them.

In 1915 a new Hillcrest Farm of 300 acres in Connecticut was purchased for the Association. This is not a summer home, but a permanent training school in farm work and in character. Girls consider it a great privilege to go to Hillcrest Farm, and

only those who need a period of training and who are eager to go, are chosen for this high honor. There in the country girls who have been delinquent are living a natural, normal life, and doing real farm work. Nearly all day they are busy milking cows, making butter, tending chickens, planting and weeding their vegetable gardens, picking vegetables, or gathering hay. Then there is the work of the house to be done and fruits and vegetables to be preserved. It is wonderful to see how interesting and absorbing girls find this new work and how eager they are to surpass one another in skill at butter-making or in the quantity of peas or cherries they can pick, and how zealous they are to have their gardens look as well or better than those of their neighbors. Through this healthy rivalry, having minds filled with new interests, and through the out-of-door life, girls are unconsciously letting go the past and getting a different view of life.

AFTER-CARE

Of equal importance to the aid given girls while at Waverley House or at Hillcrest Farm is the after-care work. When they return to their homes, enter hospitals, or go to places of employment, we continue to befriend them. Frequent visits are made; letters are written, and girls are encouraged to come to Waverley House to see workers. The number of girls who return voluntarily to tell us of their progress or to seek counsel and advice, to introduce a husband or proudly to show their little ones, to ask for help in securing work or medical care for themselves or for some member of their family, or to beg us to protect a younger sister in danger of going astray, indicates that they have understood the spirit of helpfulness of which Waverley House is an expression. They come back because they *want* to come, because of what Waverley House has given to them, and because they know that there they will find friendliness and sympathy and love.

Letters from girls show their appreciation of good opportu-

nities for work. A girl who was placed with her younger brother on a chrysanthemum farm on Long Island wrote:

"I am so happy, and I don't know how to thank you for giving me such a nice place. I am getting sunburnt for living in the sun in the flower house. We have fourteen houses and we get up every morning at five o'clock and plant. Mrs. R——'s husband is away in Jersey, where he has his other farm. There is also a little boy, who will be six years old in June. He is such a very little child and is always running around with me. Oh, I'm so happy. I will not go to the city until next month. Then I will drop in to see you. Will say good-by with the greatest of thanks, and remain as ever, One of your Girls."

Another young woman placed at housework in the country wrote:

"I am more than delighted with my new place and like it so much that when my time comes to go to New York I'm afraid you will have rather a hard time getting me in. Mrs. K—— is a blessed woman. She is so kind and thoughtful and has lots of consideration for other people. She's so motherly. Oh I just love her. I certainly have learned a few things while I was at the Waverley House and know a thing or two since I left. I know I shall be happy and keep on doing the things better and better as each day comes."

One of the truest ways in which girls show appreciation of the help given them is by helping others. Many girls come to us about a younger sister or tell us of their efforts to help some girl in trouble. Mabel B., who for four years and a half had abandoned her old life as a prostitute, and is now happily married, writes: "I think my little sister is living with a fellow. She says she is married, but I do not believe it. Please find her and bring her to the right path. I cry and worry about her. I no what it is to go wrong. I rather die than see her a bad woman. I am doing what is right for my baby's sake. I will never forget what Waverley House did for me."

A young woman who has fully justified the confidence placed

in her, is most ambitious to help other girls. Her success as ward-maid and attendant in a hospital caused us to secure an opening for her to receive training as a nurse. In one of her letters to a worker at Waverley House, she wrote:

"My hospital work is still coming on splendidly and I like the study part of it more every day. Perhaps some day when I have learned, I may even be able to help you with your girls. Many times I have thought that about four lectures on hygiene of mind and body, and on some of the simple ideals that make a clean body the abode of a clean mind—given continuously so that they might reach as many as possible, would help some one. To make just one girl here and there an *active* agent for good is to be ever kept in mind while always striving with the many that you can just prevent from being bad. I believe that you can understand what I mean for I think that you know that I too have that love for the world,—that yearning motherhood for those who are helpless, in a word, what makes you a woman much beloved by even the worst of the girls who come under your care. Not that I am presuming to compare myself to you—but aspiring to a strength of character and control which will make me worthy to help as you are helping. From the bottom of my heart, I thank you and shall do my best to prove worthy."

One of the many girls who have helped others is little "Swiss Annie." While riding south on a Sixth Avenue surface car one Saturday afternoon, I saw a very young girl with short dresses, and a blue straw bonnet tied under her chin, apparently soliciting on the street. I left the car and walked to the east side of the street, followed her for a few steps, and spoke to her. In answer to my questions as to how things were going and whether she was making a lot of money, she told frankly of her "bad luck" and quickly confirmed my suspicion as to her profession. As we walked along together, she said she had left home "to join moving pictures and vaudeville," but had not been able to keep the job. When we reached Waverley House, I invited

her to come in. To my astonishment, she accepted willingly. I then talked seriously with her, told her what her position was, and of the dangers before her. She said: "If you only go over to Hoboken and see my mudder and beg her not to put me away, I go right home. I hate this life." We had heard a short time before of a young girl who had been frequenting the lowest dives of the city and had been barred from one of the "black and tan" clubs because she had hit over the head with a beer bottle, a negro who had insulted her. And this child of the dives was the same "Swiss Annie." We sent to her home in Hoboken, talked with her immigrant mother, and learned that Anna was fifteen years old. After hearing of Anna's trouble, the mother said in her foreign tongue: "Would to God that I had all my children safe in my own country." At that moment she faced the dangers ahead in bringing up her eight fatherless children in strange America. Anna returned to her home, worked steadily for four years in two different places of employment, and then was married. When she came into my office, five years after I had first met her on the street, she said, still with her foreign accent, "Yes, you kidnap me, Miss Miner, I glad you kidnap me. Now I have a good husband and am happy. My husband come home last week from New York—he say he meet a cousin who run away from her stepmudder and she look like a bum. She was only fifteen years old. I tell him he should go right back and bring her to my home. I give her clothes and take her to the doctor and tell her fadder he should take her home. You do that to me, Miss Miner. Why not I do it for some odder girl."

Girls who have "made good" declare over and over again that Waverley House has pointed the way to different living and that it has revealed to them new meaning in life. They do not understand that the close questioning and the careful examinations and investigations have helped to make this possible. All of that sinks into the background. They remember only the friendship of individual workers, the practical help in

getting started, and the knowledge that at Waverley House they first caught a glimpse of the worth-whileness of striving.

We know that the work at Waverley House has been successful. Even when results with the individual have been unsatisfactory, there has been progress. Failure with mentally deficient girls has shown us the imperative need for their care in custodial institutions and enabled us to bring some pressure to bear in helping to change the stupid methods of society in dealing with them. Our failure with girls too completely enslaved by traffickers in vice, has been the motive-power for aggressive action in prosecuting procurers. Unsuccessful efforts to restore diseased bodies and poisoned minds has led to a demand for more intelligent action in dealing with women in the courts and shown the need of a great campaign of preventive work.

Above all, Waverley House has demonstrated the value of the individual method of work and of a careful sifting process by which treatment is based on understanding of individual needs. It has crystallized its experience into law and has pointed the way to a Municipal House of Detention for women in New York and other cities.

A MUNICIPAL HOUSE OF DETENTION

The need for a Municipal House of Detention was urged in 1900 before the Inferior Courts Commission, appointed to investigate the courts of inferior criminal jurisdiction in New York City. In support of this request, reports were submitted by the New York Probation Association showing wretched overcrowding in prisons, lack of segregation of different classes of offenders, disregard of physical and moral conditions surrounding prisoners, and the results of the experiment made at Waverley House in detaining witnesses apart from the prison, and in holding women for preliminary investigation and examination.

Facilities in Jefferson Market prison were utterly inadequate

for the large number of women held for examination or for trial in a higher court, or detained as witnesses, or pending transfer to workhouse or reformatory. As I walked along the corridor and looked into the small dark cells I often saw one young woman on the narrow bed and another on the floor, or two lying on the bed, one at the head, another at the foot, and a third on the cold stone floor. Frequently the girl on the floor had no blanket to cover her. At times the prison was so crowded that women slept in rows on the floor of the corridor or sat all night on benches outside of the cells. The overcrowding was always greatest on Sunday night, because of the large number arrested on Saturday and the custom of detaining all prisoners committed to the workhouse from Saturday to Monday, in the district prison.

Of greater harm than the overcrowding was the lack of segregation of prisoners. Women convicted of larceny, street soliciting, keeping disorderly houses, procuring, intoxication, fighting or vagrancy, were associated in the same prison, and at times in the same cells, with witnesses and with incorrigible and runaway girls. Evidence that young girls, not immoral, were held in the same cells with hardened prostitutes, and that witnesses were detained with defendants, proved the need of a suitable place of detention. One night I found a girl of seventeen in the same cell with two women charged with abducting her and placing her in a house of prostitution. She had been brought by these women two days before from a small town, ostensibly to do housework, but really for immoral purposes. When I reported the facts to the sitting magistrate and told him that I had found the girl lying on the floor of the cell occupied by her two abductors, he immediately gave me an order for discharge and paroled the girl to go to Waverley House. During the short time in the prison, the women had threatened the girl and told her she would be sent to a reformatory for five years if she gave evidence against them. Another young girl who retracted every statement she had made the previous

day in court had been locked in the same cell with her procuress and intimidated by her. Not until after the procuress was discharged, did we learn the reason for the changed testimony.

When going through the prison one morning, I discovered leaning against the bars of her cell, a sixteen-year-old girl, Virginia, who had been arraigned in Night Court the previous evening and held for examination in the day court. She had run away from her home in New Haven and had come to New York in search of work. Soon after the police had been notified of her disappearance they located her in a home for girls. Although Virginia had led a good life, and would have been perfectly safe in the home until her father could come for her, she was arrested and placed in a prison cell with prostitutes. Her cell-mate had served several sentences at the workhouse for street soliciting, and the woman in the adjoining cell had abducted a young girl from Boston and had taken her for the purpose of prostitution to Chinatown. Nearly a year after we arranged for Virginia to return to her home in New Haven, she wrote me a letter saying that she could never get rid of the picture of the "awful bars" before her, and said: "It has taught me a lesson I shall never forget, when I think how foolish I was. And still I never done such a terrible thing, but it is enough to mar my happiness for life. In the store where I work when they call the cash girl they have a whistle that sounds just like the tube in that terrible jail. I try so hard to forget it but I can't."

These and other instances in which young girls, arrested for incorrigibility, shop-lifting, participation in labor strikes, and for trivial offenses, were associated with hardened women, showed the need of separate divisions for different classes of prisoners and especially for witnesses and young girls.

Lack of attention to the physical and moral welfare of young women was revealed by wretched conditions in detention pens and prison. Women with venereal disease or tuberculosis mingled freely with others and occupied the same cells with

them. No precautions were taken to avoid spread of infection. Women who suddenly became ill before arraignment had to remain in the detention pen until an ambulance was called. I remember one day when a woman fainted and fell on the floor of the detention cell. Her clothes were loosened, and efforts made to revive her. All the time attendants were working with her, reporters and others stood outside the bars watching. An ambulance surgeon found it absolutely impossible to make proper examination in the cell, and sought a place where he could get adequate light. When he learned that there was not anywhere a couch available, he had her carried to a table in the reporters' room. There the examination was made which proved her need of hospital treatment.

An ignorant immigrant girl who was herself a defendant and also a witness against a physician for performing a criminal operation, was held for several days in a cell in her weakened condition. She had not known that a crime had been committed and could not understand why the iron bars were before her. She refused the prison food of bread and black coffee. She was so ill she could hardly stand when arraigned in court. When I telephoned to the physician who had attended her in the hospital, he said that she must not remain in a prison cell, that she must be watched very closely and given nourishing food. Yet a dark, noisy prison cell was the only possible place for her. She had no money for food or to send a message to her aunt in Brooklyn to tell of her arrest. Unable to return to Brooklyn the day of her release, because she was so weak and the day was so stormy, she welcomed the opportunity to come to Waverley House.

The moral conditions among women in the detention pen were also wretched. At times, 45 to 65 women, including first offenders and hardened prostitutes, were herded together in this cell, 14 by 16 feet in dimension. No one supervised the women there. Several would be smoking cigarettes; others would be cursing or singing vulgar songs, and older women would be in-

structing younger girls about giving false names and addresses to the probation officer, and about answering the judge's questions so as to avoid long sentences to a reformatory. Owing to the crowded condition of the cell women were often kept standing for over an hour in the corridor leading from the detention pen to the court. In the long line of prisoners containing twenty or thirty men, we would see three or four young women. Arresting officers and men prisoners often made insinuating remarks to these unfortunate women or immoral jokes about them. While some of the more hardened women responded, and even took the opportunity to make appointments with men, others were indignant and criticized most harshly a system by which they were subjected to such insults. The degrading atmosphere resulting from association of men and women prisoners showed the need of segregation of women in a special court. The wretched conditions in the detention pen proved that separate detention rooms were an absolute necessity.

The value of caring for young women apart from a prison, while investigations were made to prove the truth of their statements, and while the best method of helping them was being discovered, was shown by the successful results of work at Waverley House. Instances were cited in which it had taken several days to make necessary investigations, or to arrange for the return of probationers to their home cities. Results of the physical examinations were given, showing that 50 of the 151 young women who entered Waverley House from February, 1908, to October, 1909, had been found to be suffering from venereal disease. Reports with regard to girls deported or committed to asylums because of insanity showed the value of mental examinations and observations. Aid in prosecuting traffickers as the result of winning the confidence of girls at Waverley House and of thoroughly investigating their statements, indicated the wisdom of caring for complaining witnesses in a different environment from that of a prison. The

necessity of occupation and class work during the period of detention was apparent.

The report made by the New York Probation Association to the Inferior Courts Commission in 1909, showing the evil effects of overcrowding, lack of segregation, wretched physical and moral surroundings, and the beneficial results of adequate investigations and examination, and a more reasonable method of treating woman offenders, included the following statement:

To improve conditions in court and prison and more effectively to help women who come to the court it is recommended:

1. That a Municipal Detention House for Women be established under the Department of Correction in connection with the Night Court where there can be segregation of younger and less hardened offenders, and where they can remain when held for examination, remanded for sentence or held as witnesses, or for trial in the courts of Special or General Sessions.

2. That medical examination by women physicians be required.

3. That provision be made for prisoners awaiting trial in the Night Court so that all can remain in separate cells or rooms instead of in a detention pen, and that proper care can be given those ill in court.

4. That women only be arraigned in the Night Court at Jefferson Market.

5. That investigation shall be made in all cases before women convicted of prostitution are released on probation or sentenced and that in no case shall fines be imposed for street soliciting.

In a letter sent by the New York Probation Association, December 10, 1909, to the Inferior Courts Commission, the general plan for a House of Detention was outlined as follows:

The house should be for the temporary care of (1) girls and women held for examination. These are few in number, as the evidence is usually all before the court when the prisoner is arraigned and a decision as to conviction or discharge can be made summarily; (2) for convicted prisoners remanded to await sentence. These are a much larger number, as an investigation of previous record, home conditions, etc., is frequently of the great-

est value in determining whether to suspend sentence, to commit to a reformatory, etc.; (3) witnesses held in cases pending in magistrates' courts; (4) prisoners, especially younger girls, held for brief periods—say not to exceed ten days—for Special or General Sessions.

Of these four classes, the second is the most important. The detention home could give much more humane and considerate care for such persons and judges would, of course, remand young girls and first offenders much more frequently if it were to a house of this kind instead of the cell of an ordinary district prison.

Young girls and those who are obviously not hardened offenders could be placed in a different part of the house—preferably on a different floor—from those who are older and more confirmed in criminal life and in rooms rather than cells.

Mental examinations could be made in the detention house and suitable medical care could be provided. Here also the system of identification could be installed, if it were deemed desirable and, at any rate, supplementary investigations designed to help in the disposition of cases could be made either by probation officers or by special visitors appointed for this special purpose.

It would be necessary to commit to the house rather than to conduct it on the voluntary plan of Waverley House or the Municipal Lodging House, but many of the features of these institutions could nevertheless be retained.

It is difficult to estimate the number that should be cared for in the Detention House, but, if it were to care for all of the four classes enumerated, it should probably have a capacity for about two hundred, with special upper floor accommodations for about fifty intended for young girls and first offenders. If this is more than the Commission thinks it wise to recommend, the Detention House might care for the fifty for whom it is most needed, leaving others to be provided for as at present, with such changes as the removal of the younger first offenders would permit.

At Waverley House the total cost of maintenance with an average of sixteen under care has been \$5.67 a week per capita. This included rent and all other expenses. With a large number and without allowance for rental, the cost could no doubt be made considerably less, but there should be ample provision for proper supervision under efficient management.

The Inferior Courts Act which became law June 25, 1910, made mandatory the establishment of a Municipal House of Detention near the Night Court for Women. Section 77 of the Inferior Courts Law stated:

There shall be established on or before October 1, 1910, a place of detention, under the jurisdiction of the Commissioner of Correction, convenient to the Night Court for Women, where women may be detained both before and after being heard, and in such detention place the young and less hardened shall be segregated, so far as practicable, from the older and more hardened offenders.

After repeated requests by the Commissioner of Correction for corporate stock for the House of Detention and vigorous efforts of a citizen's committee, an appropriation of \$450,000 was finally granted July 15, 1913. It was decided to have the House of Detention combined with a court for women, and plans were drawn accordingly. In addition to the court room and offices for clerks and probation officers, these plans provide for single rooms for women held as witnesses or for examination, detention rooms for women prior to arraignment, hospital and isolation facilities, and all necessary rooms and offices for the proper conduct of work in the building. Separate divisions are arranged for segregation of white and colored women, and for different classes of offenders.

Since the plans have been completed, there has been delay in construction because estimates for contracts have exceeded the original appropriation. If additional appropriation is not made, revision of plans must necessarily be undertaken.

Every city needs an adequate detention place for its imprisoned women. In most cities they are detained in the same station-houses and prisons with men, where there is no separation of the different grades of offenders. In Chicago many women are still herded in dark, foul-smelling, basement cells, through which run open sewers. Agitation for houses of detention for women has been begun in Portland, Oregon, Chicago,

Philadelphia, and several other cities; yet up to the present time none has been established. The establishment of suitable places of detention, where all women may be held pending investigation and examination, will make possible an improved system of dealing with women in the courts.

PLAN FOR DEALING WITH WOMEN OFFENDERS

That the needs of the individual may be discovered and treatment given according to those needs, an adequate plan for dealing with women offenders should be adopted. Such a plan should include:

Establishment of a house of detention and court for women.

Appointment of a commission to receive under commitment women convicted by the courts.

Thorough investigation and examination of convicted girls and women under direction of the commission.

A restricted use of the probation system and commitment of convicted women for indeterminate periods to suitable reformatories, custodial institutions, and farm colonies.

A combined women's court and house of detention is most desirable. It prevents constant transfer of prisoners and centralizes the work for the women. By caring for women before arraignment, it obviates the necessity of detaining a few women in station-houses in different parts of the city and of supplying matron service to all those station-houses. Centralization of the work in a suitable building makes possible adequate segregation of different classes of offenders. The building should be sufficiently large to accommodate all women held for examination and remanded for sentence, witnesses, and those awaiting trial in higher courts or transfer to other institutions. The court room should be small so as to admit few spectators.

The appointment of a commission with authority to supervise investigations and power to determine dispositions would insure wiser methods of dealing with convicted women. The judge, with witnesses before him in the court, can determine

quickly whether the woman is guilty or innocent, but he does not know what kind of treatment she needs or how long she needs it. It is as absurd for him to impose summarily a definite sentence of ten or thirty days in prison as it would be for a physician to prescribe treatment without making a diagnosis of his patient. The work of the judge should cease when he has convicted or discharged a woman, and a commission should determine the disposition in each case on the basis of complete investigations and examinations made by skilled investigators, psychologists, and physicians.

These examinations and investigations, made while women are in the House of Detention, should include:

Taking complete history and record of women.
Use of fingerprint method of identification.

Investigation of home, place of employment, address where she last lived, and verification of important statements.

Written reports from orphan asylums, hospitals, probation officers, reformatories, and organizations having knowledge of the girl.

Observation during period of detention, and effort to test manual dexterity, etc.

Complete physical examination with Wasserman and complement fixation tests to determine presence of venereal disease. While detained, necessary medical care should be given.

Mental examination to discover those who are feeble-minded and to determine limitations and abilities of young women.

One of the following dispositions should be used:

Release on probation of women physically, mentally, and morally capable of improvement without commitment to an institution.

Commitment to reformatories of all who may reasonably be expected to improve by reformatory treatment.

Commitment of insane women to insane asylums and feeble-minded women to institutions for defective delinquents.

Commitment of habitual offenders under indeterminate sentence to farm colonies.

The present method of dealing with women delinquents has proved to be inadequate. It involves immense cost to cities in maintaining station-houses, prisons, courts, and workhouses. It accomplishes little in reforming or changing the characters of women or deterring them or others from further violation of law. Without knowing the needs of the individual, it sends young women who should be given reformatory treatment to prisons, and feeble-minded girls to reformatories. Would it not be worth while to make the experiment of studying carefully the individual woman so that treatment might be based on adequate diagnosis? Such a plan involves change from the idea of punishing these unfortunate women to helping them and restoring as many as possible to society as useful members.

CHAPTER VII

PROBATION WORK

One means of helping delinquent girls and women convicted by the court is the use of the probation system. Probation is a system of discipline and correction in lieu of imprisonment or other sentence, under the guidance of a probation officer who is a counsellor and friend. Sentence or the execution of sentence is suspended, and the defendant released under conditions imposed by the court. Probation gives the convicted girl or woman a chance to take her place in the world without the stigma of commitment to reformatory or prison and without being withdrawn from society for a long period of time. It offers opportunity for influence of individual upon individual, and for such an understanding of the faults, conflicts, and temptations of the probationer, that help may be given in preventing further delinquency and in strengthening character. In order to fulfil its highest function, probation must be a process of character-building.

Successful probation work depends upon the wise selection of probationers; the character and duration of supervision, and the spirit, ability, and personality of probation officers charged with this difficult and important work.

SELECTION OF PROBATIONERS

Judgment in determining which women shall receive the privilege of probation is an important factor in this method of reformative treatment. Probationers should not be chosen because of their youthful or attractive appearance, their tears before a soft-hearted magistrate, or their statements that they have just entered upon a life of immorality. No rule can be adopted that probation should be uniformly applied to first,

second, or third offenders. It should not be used merely as a means to avoid commitment of a woman to a prison or a reformatory or for the purpose of discharging her. Effective probation work requires that understanding of the individual girl be made the basis of selection. Probation should be for women who are physically, mentally, and morally capable of returning to normal living, for whom there is reasonable hope of reform.

A woman suffering from an infectious disease cannot be expected to make her way at once in society. It is unfair to send her to a place of employment where she will mingle freely with others or to return her to her family where she may infect other members. Yet failure of the court to require physical examinations prior to release has resulted in probation officers receiving diseased women under their care and sending them out into society.

During a short period in New York City following the passage of the Inferior Courts Law in 1910, physical examinations were made in accordance with Section 79 of that law. On the basis of this examination and presentation of a Board of Health certificate to the court, showing that venereal disease was present, 99 women were sent to the hospital for an indeterminate period. A storm of protest was raised because of fear that this was the beginning of the lock-hospital system found in Europe and the licensing of prostitution. Complete reliance on the health certificate for determination of sentence and absence of all investigations in cases of young women who were found to be diseased, would quickly have brought the system into disrepute, had not the Court of Appeals declared Section 79 unconstitutional.

While we disapprove of basing the sentence upon the result of physical examination alone, ultimately we should require that every woman be examined before her release on probation. In conjunction with the physical examination, we should take into account the result of the mental examination and the home investigation.

In order to expect permanent reform, probationers must be mentally capable. Although it may be possible to help feeble-minded girls for a time by furnishing a protected environment, the moment vigilance is relaxed or greater freedom given, failure is certain.

Only those women whose minds are not too poisoned and whose wills are not too weakened by their lives of immorality to make right living possible, should be given the privilege of probation. Unless they are truly desirous of changing their manner of living probation can accomplish nothing. Those who are deeply enslaved by the habits of the life, or by drugs and drink, have feeble ability for sustained work or continued effort. Their long time away from regular employment renders difficult the reestablishment of habits of work. They cannot resist the temptation to "easy living" and the call from their old companions. When arrested and in prison, they may think temporarily that they would like to return to an honorable life, but they are not able to go out at once. They need a period of training in an institution where they will have opportunity away from the old temptations to change habits and strengthen will-power.

Probation is most successful with young women who have been wayward only a short time. This explains the opinion frequently held, that only first offenders should be placed on probation. But women arrested for the first time may have been for several years in prostitution and need reformatory care. On the other hand, young women convicted the second or third time may have been leading an immoral life only a few weeks. Frequently a girl placed on probation under my supervision at the time of her third or fourth arrest, had previously been fined or discharged and given no opportunity for a different life.

In determining the number and dates of previous convictions and the sentences imposed, the fingerprint system of identification is invaluable. An experiment of fingerprinting all

women brought to the Tenderloin station-house for prostitution, was conducted by the Police Department in New York City in 1908 for the purpose of convincing magistrates of the need of more drastic action in dealing with arrested offenders. Failure to decrease street soliciting was clearly shown to be due in part to the light sentences imposed. During a period of six months, 3,141 finger impressions were taken at this single station-house, 2,514 of which were for women arrested for two or more offenses. Records showed that women had been arrested twice in a single night, that others had been released on probation after many fines and workhouse sentences, and in some instances had been placed on probation twice during six months to two different probation officers. One woman who had been arrested seventeen times in five months was discharged four times and fined thirteen times; another arrested five times during one month was fined \$3 and \$5, placed on probation, and committed twice to the workhouse. A third who had been arrested seven times was fined, discharged three times, placed on probation, and committed twice to the workhouse. Frequently the same young woman was arrested under five or six different names during the six-month period, appearing as Rose Dupont and Susan Matre one month, and the next, as Bertha Levy and Jennie Rothenberg. From September, 1910, when the fingerprint system was installed in the Night Court for Women as the result of the provision in the Inferior Courts Law, to January 1, 1916, 17,211 prints were taken of 8,243 different women. Seven women have been fingerprinted fifteen times; 18, fourteen times; 33, thirteen times; 45, twelve times; 69, eleven times, and so on. The sentences show fewer fines, more frequent use of the workhouse sentence, and fewer women released on probation after long records of fines and workhouse sentences. Regardless of the name assumed, the fingerprint system of identification gives a rapid and accurate record of conviction and sentence.

As a basis for selection of suitable probationers, complete in-

vestigation is necessary. Each woman should be remanded after conviction for a sufficiently long period to make possible satisfactory investigation of her statement and the addresses which she gives. When she claims to be married, careful inquiry of the girl and the supposed husband separately as to time, place of marriage, name of witnesses, etc., frequently reveals at once that the story is false. It also serves, at times, to implicate the man as abductor or procurer.

While holding women pending examination, precaution must be taken to prevent thwarting the efforts of investigators in learning the truth. Accordingly, all messages should be subject to review of the superintendent of the House of Detention or her assistant. In the absence of this, women send word to friends to tell stories about employment, relatives, husband or children, which will correspond exactly with their own. Failure to discover the truth when this principle was disregarded, and success in learning the facts when there was no opportunity to fit stories together, have convinced me of the wisdom of this procedure.

At twelve o'clock one night, a magistrate sitting in Night Court asked me to investigate the case of a young Hungarian woman, Jessie W. Her lawyer had urged that Jessie be released on probation immediately because she had a young baby at home. Jessie had thrown herself on the floor of the court room, crying hysterically for her child. After much loud knocking at the door of the East Side tenement, I learned that no one by the name of Jessie W., or the janitress with whom she claimed to board, lived in the house. When I reported this to the court, Jessie said she was not sure of the number but that she could easily find the house. Then the magistrate directed that she should accompany me. Jessie led the way to a house in the same street, but at a different number. We aroused the sleeping janitress and found the baby in the room with her. Disregarding my request, Jessie called out to the woman in Hungarian. Being sure that any statement I might then receive

would be likely to correspond with Jessie's word, I listened to the declaration in English that Jessie was the mother of the child and when at work paid board for the baby. My suggestion that Jessie take the baby with her back to the prison failed to change the story. The magistrate listened to the result of the hurried visit, and at once placed Jessie on probation. Two days later when making more complete investigation, I learned that Jessie was not the mother of the child, and that the janitress was living in constant fear lest her baby might be taken away.

At another time, investigation at a small oilcloth store corroborated Elizabeth B's story that she had worked there steadily for a year. The length of time, dates, hours of work, and other details corresponded exactly. The clerk in charge of the store claimed to be worried because Miss B. had "not shown up" that day. When I asked to see the books showing the wages paid, I learned that they were locked in the safe and that the owner would not be back during the day. When I returned late in the afternoon, the owner was still away. Convinced that the story did not ring true in spite of its apparent correctness, I reported the incomplete investigation and my suspicion to the judge. Without further information, he released the woman on probation. Subsequent visits to the store after Elizabeth had been released, proved that the owner knew nothing about her and that an employee who had received instructions from Elizabeth, had sought to shield her from a long workhouse sentence.

These cases illustrate the futility of inadequate, hurried, and incomplete investigations at the same time that they indicate some of the weaknesses of the system where women are not properly supervised during the period of detention.

The real test of wisdom in selecting probationers is in their response to efforts of probation officers to help them. Fulfilment of conditions imposed by the court is not sufficient. The usual requirement of good behavior for a definite time and re-

ports at regular intervals to the probation officer may be met without any permanent change in character being accomplished. The probation officer has the responsibility, not only of seeing that formal conditions of probation are carried out, but that foundations for right living are established. This depends largely upon the character of supervision.

SUPERVISION OF PROBATIONERS

If supervision is to be genuinely constructive, it must involve close personal relationship with the probationer and the development of a positive plan for redirecting activities and interests. The probation officer must be a true friend to the girl and make her personal influence deeply felt. She must know how the probationer is spending her entire time and seek to open the way to new opportunities and possibilities. By helping to reconstruct the forces which guide the girl and to redirect the course of her life, the probation officer is slowly laying the foundation for stronger, finer character.

In effectively supervising probationers, the probation officer visits them in their homes, requires them to report to her, aids them in finding suitable employment, relates them to social agencies in the community, and endeavors in every possible way to help them in their efforts to lead honest lives. In case they fail, the probation officer reports this fact to the magistrate and advises that probation be revoked.

VISITS TO THE HOMES

To know about the conduct and life of the probationer, it is necessary for the probation officer to visit the girl frequently in her home. Such visits enable the probation officer to know the helpful and the harmful factors in the girl's environment and to take such action as is necessary to improve conditions; they reveal whether or not the probationer is working steadily and returning to her home each night; they help us to know

how and where the girl is finding her recreation and who her companions are; they enable the probation officer to establish a more friendly and sympathetic relationship with the girl and her parents and to make a wiser constructive plan for the girl's future.

The frequency of these home visits depends on the needs of the girl and her family. While at first they may be required once or twice a week, later they may be made two or three times a month. It is wise to arrange them at irregular intervals and at different times of the day. At one time a visit may be made in the early afternoon when the girl is at work; at another time, at seven or eight o'clock in the evening when she would be at home.

Much genuine constructive work can be accomplished by these visits in making the home a better place for the girl who has erred and for her younger brothers and sisters. If the father is out of work, he is referred to a public employment bureau; if he has deserted the family, the mother is advised to seek redress through a Domestic Relations Court. Advice is given about sending a crippled brother to a hospital, an invalid sister to the country, or a feeble-minded child to an institution. If the house is insanitary or fails to comply with the law, it is reported to the Board of Health or the Tenement House Department; if the home is in a part of the city where there are many moral dangers, the mother is urged to move to a different locality. For this work, complete knowledge of available resources in the city is requisite, and close co-operation with various social and philanthropic and civic agencies.

Often a more sympathetic relation between mother and daughter is created by the probation officer. The mother is urged to give the girl a chance, to stop nagging and threatening her and referring to her past delinquency. The harm is shown of reciting a long list of her daughter's faults in the presence of the girl or other members of the family, of taking every penny of her wages, and of over-strictness which fails to control.

Responsibility is aroused in the girl for helping her overburdened mother and for protecting her younger sisters.

When the home proves to be an unsuitable place, the probationer is allowed to live elsewhere. Under no circumstances is she permitted to return to an immoral home. Unless conditions are actively bad, she is usually better off at home than in a furnished room or boarding house where no one except the probation officer exercises any supervision over her. When, however, the father insists on threatening his daughter and calling her vile names, or the mother is so unreasonable in her demands that the girl does not have a chance, it is better for her to leave the home. Unless she is given permission to go, she will surely run away. A seventeen-year-old girl, Thelma, complained that her mother constantly "cast up the past" to her, forbade her to associate with her younger sister, and required her to sleep on the floor with only her brother's overcoat as covering. Although the mother insisted upon Thelma remaining at home, she admitted that she would not allow her to sleep with her younger sister and that the only other place for her was the floor. When it became evident that the mother could not be induced to change her attitude, Thelma was placed in a good boarding home.

REPORTS TO PROBATION OFFICERS

A condition imposed by the court is that the probationer shall report regularly to the probation officer. The value of this report varies greatly according to its character and the place at which it is made. Without exception reports should be informal, private, and made at some other place than a court.

An example of the wrong method of reporting is afforded by the system in the magistrates' courts in New York City prior to 1910, when probationers reported at one of the courts before the entire group of men and women probation officers. Women of different ages, arrested for various offenses, assembled in the large court room, waited for their turn to join the long line out-

side the door of the probation room, and then filed in one by one to make their formal reports. Fifteen to twenty men and women probation officers seated around a long table gazed at the young woman as she entered the room; a man probation officer sitting at one end of the table, called out her name and marked the card she presented; another man sitting opposite and acting as master of ceremonies, checked the name on a long list of probationers, and gave the date for the next report. If I wished to speak to a woman under my care, I had to leave the probation room and interview her in a small office where several other persons were present. There was no opportunity for a confidential talk. The formality of the report prevented it from being helpful. At most it could but serve to frighten a timid young woman and to render more brazen the hardened offender. Association of different classes was positively harmful. Young girls left the court in company with acquaintances made at this Central Probation Bureau, and at times went directly to solicit on the streets. The possible identification of probationers in the event of subsequent arrests was an inadequate excuse for requiring them to report before a large group of men and women probation officers. Another reason advanced by some men officers that their presence was needed in case of any trouble in dealing with the women or in case it was necessary to make arrests, was entirely fictitious. Although formal, collective reporting was abolished in the magistrates' courts in New York City in 1910, it is still found in other courts and in other cities.

Reports are of value when they afford the probation officer opportunity to come into close personal contact with the probationer. They should, therefore, be made individually, apart from a court. The environment of a court tends to keep constantly before the girl the memory of her arrest. When our effort is to help the probationer to forget the wretched experience of the past, we appreciate the harm of bringing her week after week into a court. In my work as a probation officer, I

found that younger girls permitted to report to me at Waverley House, were much more willing to come and that I had far greater opportunity to influence them there. There was no hurry or rush about the report. As we sat down alone in a quiet room, instead of in a bare and forbidding court, they talked more frankly about difficulties and temptations and ways in which they were trying to meet them. When ill, in trouble, or in need of work, they came to me more freely for advice and help.

Probationers who return to their homes in other cities must still be supervised by their probation officers. Otherwise their release on probation is equivalent to absolute discharge, and they may continue their immoral living without the knowledge of the probation officer. In cities where probation work is organized, we may secure the co-operation of official workers in supervising probationers; lacking this, we may enlist the help of some individual or philanthropic organization. We can also count upon letters from the girl's father or mother to verify the probationer's reports. I have always found it worth while to require weekly or bi-weekly letters during the probation period. Girls wrote freely about their work, their relations at home, and their difficult problems.

Extracts from letters of a young American girl, Lucia L., who returned to her home on Long Island, show the spirit in which many probationers write. Lucia had come to New York after the death of her tiny baby, to search for the father of her child and to persuade him to marry her. She still hoped by this means to save herself and her family from disgrace and to quiet the unpleasant gossip in the country village. When she learned that her deceiver had never intended to marry her, Lucia went out in search of work. She was offered a position as a chorus girl, but after rehearsing for several days found that she was not able to dance. Within a week she met a man who took her to a hotel frequented by women of the streets. She learned from them about making money by prostitution.

For four weeks she had been soliciting and living at different saloon-hotels when she was arrested and placed on probation from the Night Court. At first she gave a false name and said she would rather serve years in prison than tell the address of her parents. While at Waverley House for two months, receiving necessary medical treatment, she was finally persuaded to write to her mother and to return to her home. Her father, almost crushed by his daughter's trouble, yet happy to find her again, came to New York to get her. A letter written February, 1909, soon after Lucia's return, shows how her family dealt with her:

"Papa and I reached home safely, and mama and Fred were overjoyed to see us. And they have been oh, so kind and good to me. Never once have they in word or act alluded to what I have done, and Fred even told mama before I came not to mention what had happened to me, so that I could forget. But mama and I have had a good many quiet little chats. In a thousand different ways they have shown me by their love and kindness that they love and care for me as much if not more than before. I have not been out of the house once, only a night when I went to church with my people. Two of my girl friends—the best two—have called on me, and one is to spend the afternoon with me."

Other letters written each week told of the difficulties and problems which Lucia met in returning to her home, of the way in which she looked upon her past experiences, and of her life in the country.

"I am so contented and happy now at home, and I never care to go back to the old, hateful city again. I cannot understand why I staid there when they are so good to me here, and with God's help, I will always stay with them. There are a good many things that are hard from people outside my home, but I do not let that bother, for it is not them that I care about. I expect to go to work at Mrs. R——'s where I worked one summer. You told me if I only got \$3 honestly it would be

better than the 'other way' and with God's help I am going to do it.

"How quickly the time has passed, it does not seem possible that I have been home almost three months, and the past (oh, how I hate the thought) grows fainter day by day.

"I can't half express how beautiful the country is now, oh if I could only find words to tell the beauties of nature. I think a person can live a better life surrounded by nature, for there is something soothing about it. And if anyone hurts my feelings and I go alone in the woods, I always come away feeling better.

"Does it seem possible that my probation is so near over, only one week more. But I would like to write once in a while during the summer to let you know how I am getting on. Mama and I want to come to the city sometime in the late summer and then I would love to come and see the 'old Home,' that is—if you do not object. I suppose none of the old girls are left, all new."

Many girls continue to write long after their probation periods are finished to tell us of their progress. Every year letters come from probationers who six or seven years ago were sent back to their homes in other cities.

FINDING EMPLOYMENT

One of the greatest responsibilities of the probation officer is to help probationers in finding employment. Frequently they have little to recommend them except their desire to work; they have no references from previous employers and no knowledge of any trade. Our problem is to discover the kind of work they chiefly desire and are best fitted to do, and to place them as satisfactorily as possible. If we can help them to realize an ambition to do some particular kind of work, our efforts are far more likely to meet with success. It is most unwise to urge a girl who is determined to be a stenographer to take a position as a domestic or to place a young woman with artistic longings at

grinding work in a factory. On the other hand, we must guard against placing girls at work for which they are utterly unsuited. Frequently we may substitute a plan which differs from their own, and yet is equally satisfactory to them. A young woman eager to be a trained nurse, but unfitted for it, may be persuaded to take up, instead, work as an attendant or ward-maid in a hospital, or as a child's nurse. When ambitions are within the range of abilities, we must seek to make a satisfactory adjustment. If a girl has the necessary qualifications for a nurse, we can secure an opening for her; if she has the possibility of becoming a good dressmaker or clerical worker, we may provide for a course in a trade class or business school or for apprenticeship in workshop or office.

Whenever possible we should place girls at work in which there is some creative element and through which they may receive training. If they enter domestic service let us give them opportunity to learn to cook and to become more efficient housekeepers; if they go to factories or workshops, let us select those where the labor is not so divided that girls do only one tiny part and are never conscious of the finished product; if they enter a store or an office, let us see that their work is not merely mechanical. Before sixteen-year-old Olga was released on probation, she had never done anything but the most monotonous kind of factory work—"picking spots off from cloth." Her delinquency had been partly due to her fear of returning home when laid off from her last position. After talking things over, Olga decided that she would like to learn the bindery trade. We secured an opening for her where she had opportunity to advance rapidly in her work. In a very short time she was earning \$8 a week and taking keen interest in the completed magazines as they came from the noisy presses. But one day she "answered back the forelady" and was discharged. Humiliating as it was, she came to us and begged us to intercede with her employer, declaring that she could never find a place where she loved the work so much. She re-

turned to her work in the bindery and had soon acquired a trade which for several years she has faithfully followed.

In placing young women at work, we must endeavor to secure a reasonable wage for them. It is our responsibility to see that they have sufficient money to pay for their necessary expenses. If a girl whose earning capacity is low, cannot live at home or with relatives, we must try to find a place of employment where her board is included. In special instances, it is necessary to help in supplementing her wages for a short time or to provide a scholarship for her while she is receiving training for her work. Wages of probationers should be fully equivalent to those paid to workers of equal competence. I have occasionally found that employers who have expressed great desire to help wayward girls, have expected to pay them \$10 a month for household service that was worth \$16 to \$25.

Girls who take up domestic service are usually happier in simple homes in the country than in households where other servants are employed. They enter into the life of the community in a more natural way and at the same time they are under much closer and better supervision.

The probation officer seeks to find work which affords a protected environment. For this we turn frequently to hospitals, convalescent homes, day nurseries, sanitaria, and other institutions. Many positions are offered as attendants, children's nurses, pantry maids, telephone operators, clerical assistants and household workers. The regulations of these institutions make possible closer supervision. Frequently we can secure the co-operation of the superintendent or a responsible worker in befriending and helping probationers. A Russian girl, Celia, who had been compelled by the father of her unborn child to receive men for prostitution, was released by the court on the charge of attempted suicide. At the maternity hospital where we placed her as pantry maid several months before her child was born, Celia received \$18 a month. When she returned to her work after the birth of her child, she was advanced

in her position and given \$25 a month. We found an excellent boarding place for her baby near the hospital, so that Celia could go there each afternoon during her free time to take her to the park. Without family or friends in America, Celia looked upon the hospital as her true home and to the workers as her friends. Another young woman, Louise, who had always worked in carpet factories and private families before her arrest, declared she would never be satisfied until she was a trained nurse. A position as attendant was secured for her where she was associated with nurses and had some of the same duties. When the cook suddenly left the institution, Louise volunteered to go to the kitchen to help. She demonstrated such efficiency there that the superintendent urged her to continue the work and offered her an increased wage. The difference in status was the only drawback. "I've decided to be a cook," she said with glee when she came down to see me the day she made the all-important decision. "I'm going to have a cooking class for the children and wear a white cap and they are going to call me 'Miss.'" With the help of two kitchen maids, Louise assumed the responsibility of cooking for the family of over 200. All her ambition to train as a nurse was turned into this new channel, chiefly because the little dignities had been added to it.

A young girl had worked many weeks at her sewing trade before she confided to us her great ambition to be a nurse. The acid she had thrown at her deceiver when he refused to marry her had been turned back by him into her own face. As a result her skin was badly burned, and even after several months the scars were not effaced. In the hospital where she was placed as an attendant, she applied herself with earnestness and made splendid progress. She used part of her small wage to pay for English lessons and spent much of her free time in study. She repaid the money loaned her to purchase uniforms and aprons. When after three years her family wrote to her from Russia, urging her to come home, she refused saying that

she could never be as happy anywhere as in the hospital. Kneeling before the young woman who had secured the position for her, and kissing her hand, this ambitious Russian girl repeated over and over again, "I'm so happy, I'm so happy to be a nurse."

USING SOCIAL AGENCIES

At some time nearly every social agency in the community can serve the wide-awake probation officer. Volunteer probation associations, hospitals and dispensaries, dental clinics, relief societies, clubs and churches should be utilized to the fullest possible extent.

Aside from the important work of helping to improve the probation system in the courts, a probation association can render helpful service by securing positions for probationers, providing funds for scholarships, or for sending girls to their homes in other cities or for paying board temporarily; by furnishing visitors to aid in supervising girls either before or after they have finished their probation period; by sending girls to the country for summer vacations; by aiding in the prosecution of men against whom probationers are complainants, and by caring for girls temporarily in a place of detention such as Waverley House. Probation officers from other cities turn to such an association for help in making investigations or supervising girls under their care. An official probation officer, unable because of volume of work to visit her probationers as frequently as she wishes, may utilize the service of workers of the association. When it would be impossible for her to continue supervising the large number of girls after their discharge from probation, workers who have established a friendly relationship with them can help in this. In my official work as a probation officer in the magistrates' courts, I found the help of the New York Probation Association indispensable. I could turn to it for tickets for girls to Chicago or San Francisco, for necessary clothes for probationers, for aid in making investigations

and visits, and for help in keeping more complete records than was possible under the court system in operation at that time.

The probation officer in a large city has at her command the most expert service of hospitals, dispensaries, and specialists in medical work. The willingness of physicians and surgeons to give freely of their skill in relieving unfortunate girls, makes it possible for the probation officer to attend to the physical welfare of probationers. If examination is not required before the girl is released from court, it is necessary to insist upon it before she goes to work. A girl suffering from disease or in need of an operation, must be induced to enter a hospital; if she is able to work, yet in need of treatment, she may go to an evening dispensary. Young women who have neglected caring for their teeth need to be sent to dental clinics. If these are not open at a time when probationers can go to them, the probation officer should make special arrangements to send them to a reliable dentist who will charge moderately for the work.

Instead of attempting relief work herself, the probation officer should turn to organized charitable societies. While it is not her function to relieve families in distress, it is her duty to report those in need of help. A Social Service Exchange, such as that maintained in New York City by the Charity Organization Society, may be of great help to the probation officer. By reporting the name of a young woman under her care, the probation officer learns whether or not the family has received charitable help at any time and what other organizations in the city are concerned with the girl or her family.

A judicious probation officer may use to a limited extent social clubs and recreation centres. Yet only selected probationers who can be trusted not to harm younger girls, should be referred to them. This reservation indicates a difficult problem in probation work: How and where shall probationers find recreation? The question has not been satisfactorily answered. Some probation officers have attempted to provide it for them in groups. The opportunity afforded by such a plan

for girls of different degrees of experience to form close friendships, makes this very undesirable. It is far more satisfactory to arrange for them individually through their relatives and friends or through volunteer assistants. While guarding against dangerous amusement resorts, we must suggest and permit certain forms of recreation. Although we prefer to have probationers find recreation out-of-doors and provide for this occasionally, we must utilize all the resources available for them.

The probation officer has opportunity to use religious organizations as a strong ally in dealing with delinquent girls. Clergymen, priests, and rabbis willingly respond to a call for personal service. When we recognize that we must touch the deepest springs of a girl's life in order to help her permanently, we realize our obligation to relate her to spiritual forces in the community.

After attempting to use to the fullest extent various social and religious agencies, the probation officer is able to put her finger on the weakest spots, and from her experience advise methods for strengthening or developing community resources. If hospitals, relief societies, or volunteer associations are inadequate or inefficient, the probation officer can help to quicken dormant forces or to point the way to more efficient work.

DURATION OF PROBATION

Good results from probation as a method of treatment depend partly upon the length of the probation period. In the magistrates' courts of New York City, this term varies from one month to one year; in the higher courts it may be for a period equivalent to the maximum time of sentence. Women are frequently placed on probation for periods of one, two, or three months. Realizing that our problem is to change character and habits, we see the futility of these short terms. In two or three months we do not even know whether any change has been accomplished. A woman desirous of avoiding the penalties of violating probation, may refrain from her immoral living

for a few months, without any change in purpose. As soon as the law has withdrawn its hold over her, she returns to the old manner of living. I believe that the period should be at least one year and that in many instances the time of supervision should be two or three years.

A wise provision would be to make the probation period indeterminate, with a maximum limit of two or three years. When the probation officer is satisfied that the girl does not need further supervision, she can make a report to the court and recommend her discharge from supervision within a shorter time. If it requires from a year and a half to three years in a reformatory and a subsequent period of parole to change habits and character, as long a period is needed for girls who return to society where they have none of the restraint and checks of an institution and where they meet all the old temptations.

With longer terms of probation, the number of new probationers placed under care of one probation officer during a year must be decreased. If a probation officer is in attendance at court all or part of each session and makes preliminary investigations to determine whether or not girls shall be placed on probation, she can supervise only a small number. In large cities it is a wise plan to assign special workers for investigational work and leave the probation officer free to spend almost her entire time in visiting and doing constructive work with probationers. With such daily reports of visits as are necessary and with probationers not scattered over a wide area, a probation officer can at one time supervise 40 or 50 girls and women. If she does court and clerical work, and makes preliminary investigations, it is impossible for her to supervise more than 30 girls.

REVOCATION OF PROBATION

When a woman violates the terms of probation, it is the duty of the probation officer to report the facts to the court and to have probation revoked. The probation officer, on the basis

of her report, secures a warrant, or acting as a peace officer brings the girl before the court.

Failure to observe the original terms of release constitutes violation of probation. Those conditions as we have seen, were good behavior for a stated number of months and reporting at regular intervals. When we can prove that the probationer has returned to her immoral living or is again frequenting wretched resorts and associating with vicious companions, we have sufficient evidence to revoke probation. If she fails to report and moves away so that the probation officer cannot find her, we are justified in asking for a warrant. We must not wait, as some probation officers and judges insist should be done, until the woman is arrested again for some offense. Proof of violation of probation may be secured by investigation as well as by the evidence of an arresting officer.

In order to know whether probationers are soliciting on the streets or entering saloons and disorderly dance halls and to locate those who have absconded, the probation officer should herself go occasionally to sections of the city where immoral women are accustomed to solicit and to dance halls they visit. When girls failed to report and moved away without notifying me, I occasionally discovered them by going late in the evening to places which they had formerly frequented.

Action of judges in dealing with women who violate the terms of their release, is important in determining the effectiveness of probation. When judges fail to sustain probation officers who report violations, the probation system falls into disrepute and becomes meaningless. Not only should warrants be issued when evidence of violation is presented, but women brought before the court should be committed to reformatories. It is useless to impose a small fine or to commit for five days to the workhouse. Yet in the past, these methods have been frequently employed in New York and are still used in other cities. I have with great difficulty succeeded in locating a probationer after securing a warrant for her, presented evidence

that she was continuing a life of prostitution and supporting a man by her earnings, and then have seen her pay a \$3 or a \$5 fine and walk out of the court laughing at me. On several such occasions I have been indignant, not because of the jeering laugh or scornful words of a young woman who considered she had triumphed, but at the lack of appreciation of the true meaning of probation on the part of the presiding magistrate. Even though probation has not been successful in helping a young woman, it does not indicate that a period of moral and industrial training in a reformatory will fail. At least we should give her that chance. Knowledge that she is likely to be sent to a reformatory if she violates probation causes her to have a much more wholesome regard for the leniency of the court and to take probation more seriously.

Under the present system a woman may be committed for violation of probation only in case she is located during the period for which she is released. If found the day after the expiration of her term, the probation officer is powerless to act. I see no reason for a difference in practice between the probation and parole system. If a girl violates her parole she may be apprehended and returned to a reformatory at any time, even several years after her maximum period in the reformatory would have expired. A similar condition should apply to probation. For a period of two years at least, a young woman who violates probation should be within the jurisdiction of the court.

PERSONALITY OF PROBATION OFFICERS

All that the probation officer may do to help probationers avails little unless she wins them to the belief that it is worth while to strive and possible to achieve. We may restore the girl to her home, provide needed medical care, place her at work, and surround her with uplifting influences; yet if we fail to waken within her a desire for honest and useful living, our efforts are doomed to failure.

To accomplish this, a probation officer must invest her own

personality. She must spend herself freely and give of her very best. By her judgment and tact, she leads without apparently directing; by her sympathy and friendship, she gives confidence and strength; by her enthusiasm and hope, she arouses incentive and purpose; by appeal to the highest, she gradually awakens the girl's faith in herself. Little by little, without knowing why or how, the probationer assumes a different attitude toward life and looks more hopefully toward the future. She finds new happiness in the love of mother or child or husband and wonders how she could have so nearly lost such precious possessions. Conscious of greater respect from others she regains respect for herself. With a clearer conscience she is less worried and anxious. Old thoughts and habits are gradually replaced by new desires and ambitions. Although we may still see some scars of the old life, we marvel at the tremendous change. Such results are not attained easily. They are the outcome of earnest, patient, and persistent effort of probation officers who give themselves.

RESULTS OF PROBATION

Understanding of the true work of the probation officer reveals the difficulty of measuring its results by any known standards. Who can reduce to figures or percentages a girl's efforts to lead a different life? Who shall say that in spite of failure, her striving is not real achievement? At what moment shall we judge whether she has succeeded or failed? No statement of results in changing characters can be absolute. We can at best only approximate the truth.

A partial estimate of results may be given by an investigation in the year 1914, of 124 probationers, released under my care during 1908 and 1909. The group included many girls who had been at Waverley House pending investigation. Not only did we have more complete data with regard to these young women, but much closer and longer supervision had been given because of their association with Waverley House. This in-

vestigation showed that of 124 women, 40 were living honest, moral lives; 4 had died; 2 were insane; 1 had been deported; 10 had returned to lives of immorality; 23 were doubtful; and 44 could not be traced. Each of the four girls who died had, up to the time of her death been leading a moral life. Three died in hospitals where we had placed them. Of the ten who had been living by prostitution, two were in reformatories. In the doubtful group were girls living out of the city and others about whom definite information could not be secured.

We are then justified in saying that approximately one-third of this group of probationers are known, after a period of from five to six years, to have made good. Considering that the entire group of 124 included some girls mentally deficient or insane, women who at the time of their release were in the advanced stages of tuberculosis or suffering from venereal diseases, and a few young women who were too enslaved by their immoral living ever to escape from it, these results seem more remarkable. Had the women been more carefully selected on the basis of complete investigation and rigid examination to exclude those mentally and morally unfit for probation, and had the official supervision been more complete for a longer period, we could have expected better results.

A significant fact revealed by this study is that 23 of the 40 women who had successfully won out in their efforts to live honest lives had married during or after the expiration of their probation period. Others were with their families or at work. "Think where I might be to-day if the judge had not given me on probation," said Sarah, 22 years old, six years after her release from the court. As a child of sixteen, she had pleaded her own case before the judge and told in her broken English of being cast out of her sister's home and of her assault by a procurer. In spite of her sister's efforts to "put her away," Sarah was placed on probation. After doing housework for a year, she was happily married. Now she has two beautiful little children for whom she sews and works diligently. When

I admired their tiny brown velvet suits, Sarah proudly said that she "just finished them yesterday." She is devoted to the little home which five years ago we helped her to establish. She looks back to the hard years after she came from Austria as no longer a part of her life.

A probationer, Josephine R., who had become bitter against the church which had kept her in a religious institution many years, was at first a most difficult girl to reach. Her experience caused her to be suspicious of anyone who tried to help her, for under the guise of being helped she had been taken from her aunt and "shipped off to a religious home." Too young to know the meaning of her immoral act, at the age of fourteen she had given birth to a child. In the institution she learned from girls more experienced than herself, and went to live with one of them after her release. Then followed the wayward course which brought her to court and to Waverley House. During her probation period she began her work as a nurse and followed this successfully for over two years. The aunt wrote me a letter saying that she did not expect to live and that she must look to me to protect and guard Josephine. The death of this aunt was the first real sorrow that had ever come to this careless girl and helped to awaken her. The burden laid upon me was easier than I had expected. A year later Josephine was settled with her husband in a cozy home in Virginia and was finding new interest in life in the country. When opportunity came for her to give volunteer help in a home for wayward girls in a nearby city, she eagerly grasped it. Soon after she wrote: "So you can see I can be of some use even way down here and I have the generosity and kindness at Waverley House to thank for it and many other things."

In the group of probationers who have made good are two whose stories were told in the first chapter.

Kathleen, the newcomer to prostitution, was sent from Waverley House to a maternity hospital until after her baby boy was born. Then she spent a period of convalescence with

her child at Hillcrest Farm. The baby did not become stronger, and a few weeks later died in a hospital. Kathleen was heart-broken over Jimmie's death and insisted that she was being punished for her sin. She worked for several months and then married. Soon after, she listened to the appeal of her younger sister and took her from the religious institution where she had been placed because of improper guardianship. One day Kathleen came to us in despair, saying that she could not control her fifteen-year-old sister and that her husband threatened to leave if she insisted upon keeping her in the home. We assumed control of the sister and placed her at work; and from time to time when there was need, helped Kathleen. Several times when her husband was unsuccessful in business and there was dire want, the call of the old life came, yet Kathleen did not heed it. Her change in spirit was shown by her words: "Ever since I've seen things different, I couldn't go back to the old life. My religion wouldn't let me and little Jimmie wouldn't let me, and then I've got to keep my sister from going bad. I'll starve if I have to sooner than go back to the street."

Margaret King, the girl of the call flat, returned to her aged grandmother and cared for her. When I went to investigate the home after the night Margaret remained at Waverley House, I found it as she had said. Entering the excellent apartment house, I was ushered by a maid into the well-furnished rooms and there saw the dear old grandmother. She told me how she had taken Margaret and her brother when they were babies and had cared for them during the long years. Her oldest son had supported the entire family and had given her every comfort. She said that she had been broken-hearted to think that Margaret had been associating with dangerous companions and playing cards and drinking, yet she had been powerless to prevent it. Then she added: "But one thing I know, she's as pure as a lily." I would not have shaken the faith of this grandmother in the girl, but I told the uncle frankly that he needed to supervise Margaret more closely and to get her to assume

responsibilities at home. His arrangement to pay her a certain amount each week as housekeeper and nurse, gave Margaret some spending money and at the same time gave her a new sense of importance in the household. While taking this responsibility, she found new joy in her association with her sweet-spirited grandmother. Nearly five years later, Margaret married—not a "millionaire banker" but a struggling reporter. Over and over again she has expressed gratitude for being helped to see that it was her highest duty to care for her aged grandmother, because it gave her the rare privilege of spending the last three years with her.

When girls return six or seven years after their probation periods are over and tell us that they have found freedom and happiness as the result of the help we have given them, and when we know that they are living honest, serviceful lives, we rejoice that it has been our privilege to point the way and are confident that probation work is indeed worth while. In satisfaction and joy at their achievement, we find rich return for our own investment of effort. We only reproach ourselves that we have not spent ourselves more freely and with greater wisdom, that possibly more of those drawn back into the tide might have been saved.

CALL FOR WORKERS

Appreciation of the vast opportunities for helping wayward girls, compels me to claim many more young women for probation work. We should not permit girls to be placed under the care of men officers, or be satisfied as long as any court where women are tried lacks a woman probation officer. As an excuse for either of these failures, let it never be said that the right kind of women probation officers are not available. There is need of an increasing number of competent women to give themselves unreservedly to it. Probation work demands women of strong personality, judgment, tact and faith, women who have abounding hope, love, spiritual insight, and a clear vision of the possibilities of the task.

CHAPTER VIII

REFORMATORIES AND FARM COLONIES

For the larger group of delinquent women who cannot be expected to improve by probation, some kind of institutional care is necessary. The old idea of punishing offenders led to their incarceration in prisons and in prison-like institutions. The newer idea of helping erring women is finding expression in the development of cottage-plan reformatories, farm colonies, and custodial institutions for defective delinquents. In freeing women from prostitution, this new type of reformatory must be an important factor.

FAILURE OF PRISONS

Prisons have demonstrated their inability to reform women delinquents. They have only embittered them and sent them out more antagonistic to society. They have herded together under the same roof and often in the same cells, young and old, healthy and diseased, first offenders and hardened criminals. They have afforded inadequate occupation, practically no industrial training, and no incentive to right living. The only means of control attempted has been repression.

As I have entered a prison, climbed the iron stairway leading from one tier to another, and looked between bars at six or nine girls and women crouching in one narrow cell; as I have heard from them stories of riots among colored women, smuggled dope, immoral practices, and harsh restraint in black dungeons, I have wondered at the stupidity and reckless waste of society. The atmosphere has been so charged with demoralization and suppression that it has almost stifled us. Yet innocent girls and young women just entering prostitution have been en-

veloped by it for days, weeks, and months. In the workhouse on Blackwell's Island, before 1914, I saw girls, sixteen and seventeen years of age, convicted of incorrigibility or disorderly conduct from participation in a shirtwaist strike, in the same cell with women of the street. I have found a feeble-minded girl, not immoral, who set fire to a house "just to see it burn" in the same cell with a hardened prostitute. I have talked with a girl serving a six months' sentence after a month in prostitution, who said, "I wouldn't care so much if only the judge thought he was reforming me by putting me here, but he must know girls can't get better staying in cells with such dreadful women."

The physical conditions in many prisons have been revolting. In spite of the outward appearance of cleanliness, we have seen creeping vermin. Overcrowding, and use of the old "bucket system" has made life in the cells almost unbearable. Lack of segregation of infected women has made possible the spread of disease. Short sentences of five, ten, twenty, and thirty days have been utterly futile. They have not helped the women nor deterred them from further law-breaking. Over and over again the same offenders have gone back to serve another sentence, and then have returned at once to their old manner of living. Exchange of sentences between prostitutes and old women sentenced for intoxication has been a frequent practice. Women of the streets have willingly "given up their cash" for the privilege of earlier release.

Practically no after-care work has been done for any of these unfortunates from Blackwell's Island. They have gone out without any prospect of honest employment, without suitable clothing, and often without a penny even for carfare. They have returned to their furnished rooms to find that all of their possessions have been moved away by men who have been living on their earnings. At other times, they have been met at the pier by these men and have returned immediately to them. No one has helped them or has pointed out a different way; no one has known or cared what became of them.

Yet in our large cities, a majority of women committed for prostitution, serve sentences in these prisons. During the last four years in New York City, over 75 per cent. of the women arrested for prostitution have been sentenced to the workhouse. After the fining system was rendered illegal in 1913, short workhouse sentences were almost uniformly imposed.

Fortunately these conditions are passing. With greater light turned upon prisons during the last few years and with more intelligent direction, they are less degrading than they were. In the New York City workhouse, as the result of the work of Dr. Katherine B. Davis while Commissioner of Correction, more attention is being paid to physical welfare of women prisoners; examination and treatment for venereal disease and for the drug habit are being given, and more attempt is made to separate the young from the hardened offenders. With the appointment of a superintendent of women, the spirit of repression has been somewhat lessened. By the passage of a parole law in New York State, which became operative January, 1916, a new light has dawned upon the horizon. For the first time, prisoners will have motive for good behavior within the prison; short sentences for prostitutes will be eliminated, and after-care work will be done. In a few years, the prison itself will be supplanted by a farm colony of reformatory character.

REFORMATORIES

Reformatories are protests against prisons. They aim to help instead of to punish, to inspire hope in place of despair. To the extent they have swerved from this purpose they have failed; to the degree they have held to it, they have succeeded. Their evolution from prisons explains their deviating and uncertain course. Reformatories true to the purpose expressed in their name, of reforming character, have an important function in any scheme of correctional work. Consideration of methods employed in institutions of different types, and some estimate of results achieved, will furnish basis for decision as to

the way in which reformatories can fulfil most satisfactorily the high purpose for which they have been created.

PRIVATE REFORMATORIES

Before it was recognized that reformative work was justly an obligation upon city, county or state, private institutions attempted to meet the need. They were established by organizations formed for the purpose or developed under religious auspices. They were erected in cities from which they drew their largest number of candidates; they were built on the congregate plan with their varied activities under a single roof. They admitted both adults and juveniles, both moral and immoral women. They accepted women who entered voluntarily; a few designated by law also received women committed by the courts. At first they were supported entirely by private funds; later they received public subsidies.

As we approach the forbidding exterior of one of these private reformatories, we are surprised to see a high wall surrounding it. This is the first sign that the place is a prison. In answer to our ring the door is opened, and we enter a reception office as forbidding as the bare exterior. We talk to a dark-robed woman through an iron grating, or sit on a long, hard bench, and gaze upon a crucifix. Separated by the same iron grating, a mother is reasoning with her wayward daughter. Even parents may not approach nearer. The chill of the unnatural atmosphere strikes us. How can it have a different effect upon those who pass through the screened gateway to spend two or three long years! Conscious of the restraint of prison walls, guarded doors and grilled windows, we do not feel the spirit of help, of hope, and of inspiration upon which the foundations of the structure were laid.

The same building in a private reformatory houses 100 or 200 girls and women of different classes. There are incorrigible girls, prostitutes, and vagrant women. Although effort is made to separate juveniles from adults and moral girls from im-

moral women, segregation is incomplete. Adequate classification in a congregate institution is impossible. Over and over again, we hear the reproach of girls who have mingled with more experienced women in these places. One girl declared: "What can you expect when my mother put me in that place with a lot of prostitutes—me an innocent girl. They told us all about making money on the street and how easy it was. When I come out, I wanted to get even with my mother and I went right to a place they told me about." A girl who had just taken her first immoral step before commitment to the reformatory wrote: "I was no bad girl when I got put away in the Home. Now I know everything bad. I lived with the vilest women, the down-and-out kind, who have taught me and lots of other girls more innocent than I, how to solicit on the streets." The sweeping statement of a girl who had been in two different religious institutions has been repeated in slightly differing phrases by many young women. She declared: "You learn more bad than good in them homes. What bad you don't know when you go in, you learn from the other girls there."

Many private institutions have inadequate facilities for industrial training, out-of-door employment, recreation and discipline. Counting upon labor of inmates for partial support of the home, they have sacrificed training for actual work. All day long with short intermission for luncheon, girls operate on white goods taken from large wholesale houses, or work in the big laundry, washing and ironing clothes for outside patrons. In 1914, one institution sent out a printed circular to the largest hotels in New York City stating that it was prepared to launder 25,000 pieces daily. Laundries, subject to the factory laws of the state, which could not afford to do work at the low rates quoted, strongly resented this competition. Seldom do girls use the experience gained in the institution in future employment. If they attempt to do it, they often discover that machines in the reformatory were old-fashioned and entirely different from the equipment of a modern factory. Monotony, lack

of interest in their tasks, and enforced silence prejudice them against following the same pursuits. They declare that they will not spend their lives doing sweatshop work. Establishment of these institutions in cities where their need first became apparent, has rendered practically impossible any outdoor employment. Girls live their entire lives within the confines of four dark walls. Attention to serious work leaves little time for relaxation and rest. Recreation hour gives opportunity for doing fancy work or reading, and in some institutions for a weekly gymnastic drill.

Lacking adequate facilities for controlling or isolating incorrigible girls, private reformatories often have serious trouble with discipline. To prevent uprising they frequently discharge ungovernable girls. Aware that freedom may be won by bad behavior, a few girls begin a riot. Even when ring-leaders are arraigned in court, insufficient evidence may result in absolute release. According to law, these institutions are now required to return to court girls whom they wish to discharge in less than six months. Some private reformatories resort to dark rooms or cells to break the spirit of unyielding girls. Failure of this method is shown by the bitterness of girls who have suffered from it and their revengeful attitude toward the institution.

Although workers in religious reformatories are devoted in their service to humanity, many of them are too out of touch with problems of the world outside to understand and deal effectively with these girls. Their horizons have been too circumscribed by the limits of the institution. To accomplish this work of reform they have depended too much upon religious ceremonies and too little upon awakening a true religious spirit.

After a few months or two or three years, girls are discharged by private institutions and are no longer under their control. Frequently, they are allowed to go out without any knowledge of what they are to do or where they are to go and without any

preliminary investigation. I have had a girl come to me the day she left a private reformatory after a residence of two years there, without proper clothing, with no provision for employment, and without a penny in her shabby pocketbook. When I have looked at her broken shoes and at her worn and wrinkled dress, and asked her if she had any other clothing, she has said: "No, this is all I got. They do look worse than when I went in two years ago, but I haven't worn them in the home." With all the sewing she had done during the two years, no opportunity had been given her to make suitable clothing for herself. Yet without making a better appearance, she could not expect to secure work. No effort had been made by the institution to place her in a position and no one had asked her where she intended to go or had offered to accompany her. If under such circumstances this girl had returned to her immoral living, who would have been to blame?

Frequently girls go back to homes which have failed to protect them and to parents declared by the court at the time of commitment to be improper guardians. One young woman whose mother was dead, returned after a year and a half in a religious reformatory, to the home of her drunken and immoral father and brothers. Three girls committed for improper guardianship were discharged one after the other to an immoral mother. At the time, the mother was living with a man to whom she was not married and was often away from the hotel where she worked as a scrubwoman, because of intoxication. The oldest daughter went to work with the mother in the hotel, and within four months had become a prostitute. The second daughter followed the example of her older sister, and the youngest child of fifteen became immoral almost immediately after her release and later gave birth to an illegitimate child.

Under the present system in New York and many other cities, private institutions are subsidized by the city and receive women officially committed by courts. This system is wrong, because the city exercises no control over the institution

although it pays board of \$150 a year for each person under commitment. Inspection does not reveal exploitation of inmates, insufficient opportunity for training, or detention for over-long periods because of remunerative labor. Yet in contributing toward their support, municipalities have recognized an obligation for these girls. Why should they not make entire provision for them? Private institutions should not do work which is rightly a charge upon city or state. All women committed by courts should be sent to reformatories under the complete jurisdiction and control of public officials.

In giving up this work, private reformatories can devote their entire efforts to the task for which they were originally created. By caring for unmarried mothers and all women who enter voluntarily they have a big field of effort. This is the true function of the private reformatory. In fulfilling this most satisfactorily, private institutions may well pattern their methods more closely after those developed in public reformatories.

STATE REFORMATORIES

By establishing their own institutions, cities and states have recognized to an increasing extent, their obligation to care for delinquent women. The earliest state institutions for women, embodying the reformatory idea, were opened in Indiana in 1873 and in Massachusetts in 1877. They retained many characteristics of prisons and were built on the congregate system. Yet the first big step in changing the entire character of reformatories was taken. The Massachusetts institution was established on a farm in the country, where women could work out-of-doors in field and garden. Both institutions made provision for separating different classes of offenders. New York pointed the way to cottage-plan reformatories for women by erecting three according to this system. They were opened at Hudson in 1887, at Albion in 1893, and at Bedford in 1901. Recognition of the failure of prisons to help women has caused

other states to secure necessary legislation to provide for reformatories. New Jersey opened its reformatory for adult women in 1913; Ohio, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Maine and Iowa have authorized such institutions, and several other states are trying to secure legislation for them. Among the excellent reformatories receiving girls under sixteen or eighteen years of age, are the State Industrial School at Lancaster, Massachusetts; the New York State Training School for Girls which took the place of the women's reformatory at Hudson, and Sleighton Farm at Darlington, Pennsylvania. The distinctive thing about all of these institutions is that they are built in the country on the cottage plan.

The Cottage System

An idea of the cottage system may be obtained by a visit to such an institution as the New York Reformatory for Women at Bedford. As we descend into a broad valley, we see many brick buildings on the slope of the low hills. Open roads lead down and out of the valley, with no high walls or fences to cut off access to the outside world. The public highway by which we approach divides the reformatory property into two large sections. As we enter the grounds at our right, we see girls in khaki uniforms bending over their work in a nearby celery field. Ascending the slope, we come to the red brick administration building. Here are offices, reception rooms, and living quarters of the superintendent and her staff. On the second floor is the chapel—now far too small for the growing population of 400 or 500 women. Rebecca Hall, just behind, has abandoned its original name of "prison building," but has not changed its prison-like character. It was the first building erected on the grounds. At that time architects and builders still looked upon reformatories as prisons. Grouped around this lower campus are several cottages with single sleeping rooms and living accommodations for 25 to 35 women. At hours appointed for industrial or educational classes, girls from the different cottages

enter the school building. Almost hidden by the cottages is a long, ominous-looking structure, with sky-light windows. This is the disciplinary building where refractory girls are temporarily detained. We ascend the cement steps to the upper campus where there are several new cottages, a special house for mothers and babies, the "honor cottage," and a perfectly equipped hospital. As we see girls going back and forth to their classes or entering the gymnasium, we might easily think we were on a college campus. We look over the public highway to the hills beyond and see four more brick cottages along the ridge. Going down to the public highway and crossing it, we enter the old farm-house freshened by its coat of yellow paint. This is the home of 18 or 20 young women and their instructor in farm work. We climb the hill to the left on the property purchased by the Bureau of Social Hygiene and rented to the state for the use of the reformatory for the nominal sum of one dollar a year. Here are the model reception house—Elizabeth Fry Hall, the laboratory devoted to scientific testing and sociological records, a psychopathic hospital, and at the very top of the hill, the home of the laboratory's resident staff. In the elongated circular structure, Elizabeth Fry Hall, are fifty new girls who have recently entered, waiting until examinations and social investigations have been completed.

By the gradual addition of new reception house, cottages, hospitals, and buildings for special purposes, Bedford has developed the cottage system to a high degree. Yet as soon as the state makes adequate appropriation, some improvements can be made. By having a separate gymnasium, a chapel, an industrial building, sufficient cottages so that each group would not exceed 20 or 25, and replacing such buildings as Rebecca Hall and the disciplinary building by less prison-like structures, it would approach more nearly the ideal cottage colony.

The great value of the cottage system lies in the opportunity it affords for better segregation of different classes of offenders

and for increased personal influence of workers over members of a smaller group.

Classification of Offenders

The best results are obtained in classifying women within the reformatory not by their offenses, but according to their character, health, mental characteristics, and adaptabilities for certain kinds of work. It matters little whether women guilty of prostitution, larceny, drunkenness or murder live in the same cottage; but it is of utmost importance that women of widely differing degrees of demoralization of character should not be associated. One of two women sentenced for larceny may be an innocent girl who was tempted to take a lace collar from a department store, while another may be a negro woman convicted of robbing an intoxicated man whom she had enticed from the streets for prostitution. The young woman convicted of murder, who has killed her lover because he deceived her, may be far less demoralized in character than the girl who has been soliciting a few weeks on the streets of the city. Wise classification will prevent moral or physical contamination of one group by another and will promote the well-being of all.

We may classify women in nearly every public reformatory into healthy and diseased, women of normal mentality, psychopathic women and feeble-minded women, mothers with babies, colored and white women, and moral and immoral women of various degrees of experience. Physical and mental examinations, social history, and understanding of each individual must determine this separation along physical, mental, and moral lines.

Prevention of spread of disease and provision for medical care require careful segregation of women in an infectious condition. For this a complete physical examination is necessary. In a group of 647 women examined in 1913 at Bedford, only 20.56 per cent. showed clinical manifestations of venereal dis-

ease; while practically 90 per cent. of a group of 466 women gave positive reactions to blood tests.¹ Women should be isolated in reception house or hospital not only during the period of examination, but as long as there is danger of spreading infection.

Necessity for segregation of feeble-minded and of psychopathic women is clearly recognized. It is unfair to allow mentally retarded girls to hold back those of a higher degree of mentality from making progress in industrial and educational classes. It is obviously impossible to require of defective delinquents the same standards of mental work or of behavior. The same is true of women suffering from a psychosis. They are not responsible for their acts. They should not be given the same privileges or subjected to the same discipline as normal women. Yet in most institutions these women are not separated from the rest. A few found to be insane are transferred to state hospitals, but women showing no signs of violence are retained in the reformatories. As long as special institutions for this group are lacking, a hospital where clearly pronounced psychopathic women may be segregated is a necessary adjunct of a women's reformatory. Until such time as institutions for defective delinquents are established, separate cottages in the reformatory should be provided for mentally deficient women. Even after special institutions for psychopathic and feeble-minded delinquents are secured, special provision is needed in the reformatory for women awaiting transfer.

The plan of providing a special cottage for mothers and babies is excellent. It enables women to receive proper training in caring for their children and gives the little ones far better opportunity. When we see a group of happy-faced mothers tending their babies out-of-doors or listening attentively in the nursery to instructions of the resident physician, we are confident that the very best method is being used to insure their

¹ Commercialized Prostitution in New York City: George Kneeland, Century Company, p. 188.

right living in the future. We notice the radiant expression upon the face of a young dark-eyed Italian mother, sitting apart from the others, entirely absorbed in her nestling infant. A Madonna for a Raphael or an Andrea del Sarto! And then suddenly we remember a glimpse of a rebellious, unhappy girl, her face against the bars in Jefferson Market prison, cursing the fate that had made her grind in a sweatshop tenement since she was a little child, that now had caught her and sent her up, and that had decreed she was to be the mother of a child whom she was determined to despise and abandon.

When we realize the opportunity given to young mothers in such a reformatory as Bedford we rejoice that the state has been sufficiently humane to make provision for them apart from a prison and to rule that babies may remain in the institution only until they are two years of age. We recall the bitterness with which other women have admitted that their babies were born in the workhouse on Blackwell's Island. As I write this, there comes to my mind the picture of two gloomy low rooms with barred windows in the Paris prison of St. Lazare. There on the top floor of the old gray building, I saw twenty-two little ones with their convict mothers,—tiny babies in arms and children over two and three years of age. These mothers, some of whom were serving sentences as long as eight years, could keep the children until they were four years old. As I looked upon them, I could not help wondering if the minds as well as the bodies of those children were not being dwarfed by living for four long years in the close prison atmosphere. They seemed like tiny plants which a ray of God's sunshine had never touched, and somehow I felt that a long dark shadow was being forever cast upon their little lives.

Great difference of opinion and practice exists with regard to separation of colored and white women in reformatory institutions. At Bedford, negro and white women live in the same cottages; at the Training School at Hudson, at Sleighton Farm, and many other institutions, they are separated. This

segregation has nothing to do with racial prejudice. It is an expediency adopted for the benefit of the entire reformatory group. Not only does it facilitate specialized training most valuable for colored girls, but it prevents the immoral association of colored and white women. If separate institutions were established in states having a large colored population, still better results might be obtained.

Division of moral and immoral women of different grades is the most difficult task, yet it is absolutely essential to best results. No benefit derived from residence in an institution can compensate for the demoralizing effect of debauched women over those with limited or no experience in immoral living. We have no right to run the risk of contaminating innocent girls by association with degraded women. The insidious, poisoning influence of their immoral stories and boastings of large earnings, is destined to bear fruit later in actions of these curious young girls.

In grouping women according to character, we must take into account not merely past conduct, but mental attitude. I have known girls with no immoral experience whose minds were so poisoned by knowledge of vice, that they were a greater menace than professional prostitutes. In reformatories, as in probation work, much depends upon belief in the possibility of reform. Hardened women who rebel against restraint and constantly express determination to return to their immoral living, will check the progress of weak-willed girls who come within the range of their influence. These hopeless women should never be in the same group with the more hopeful girls nor even in the same institution. They belong not in a reformatory where characters are being remoulded, but in a farm colony where they can be detained indefinitely.

The usual broad grouping of reformatory population into three or four divisions—those just entering the institution, those demoted for bad behavior, and those promoted to cottages, is insufficient. That each group and each individual

may be treated more wisely and helpfully, more complete and careful segregation should be adopted.

Methods of Work

The success of each reformatory in preparing women for useful living depends much upon its methods of meeting their industrial, intellectual, physical, and spiritual needs. It has the tremendous task of inculcating new habits of work and training for future employment, developing mental resources and desire for wholesome amusement, teaching self-control and principles that govern right living, and laying that deep spiritual foundation which will determine ultimate failure or success.

Occupation and Industrial Training

All that is taught in kitchen, laundry, sewing room, or class room should be related closely to the later lives of the girls. In the separate cottages, women under direction of matrons learn to make beds, cook and serve food, and to launder clothes. Each girl cares for her own room and in turn shares in various duties in kitchen and laundry. In industrial classes, women fashion straw hats for use on farm or in garden, weave rugs, towels and baskets, and make all the clothing which they wear in the reformatory. The making of khaki uniforms for farm work, gymnasium costumes, and tailored suits for paroled girls, gives experience in practical sewing and dressmaking. A few interested in clerical work are given opportunity in the office of the reformatory to become more skilful in it. The return of many girls later to factories and offices, indicates the need of increased attention to industrial and clerical training.

Out-of-door work gives skill in various kinds of employment and also develops strength and health. At one time we see several Bedford girls on high ladders, painting the outside of a cottage; at another, we observe a large group with wheelbarrows of stone and bags of cement busily at work on a new path, a cement silo, a dairy plant, or a concrete canal leading from the

lake to the ice-house. We note the keen interest on the faces of young women farmers at work in the open fields, or in the barn, tending pigs and chickens. It is play as well as work for them to harvest hay in summer, to strip long ears of yellow corn at husking-time, or to cut ice from the pond in winter. We are not surprised to hear that some paroled girls have used successfully this knowledge of farm work in later places of employment.

Educational classes or "book schools" as they are known in reformatories, aim to be of practical value. Their success lies in the ability of teachers to adapt them to everyday living. They give immigrant girls and women who left school when very young, opportunity for elementary education. Arithmetic which enables women to count, measure, and compute groceries used in the cottage or the out-put of farm or garden is clearly advantageous. For the first time, tables of weights and measures and multiplication have real meaning. Making of record-envelopes and pasteboard boxes needed in the institution requires skill in accurate measurement, neatness in pasting, and careful handwork. Writing letters to relatives and friends or descriptions of holiday festivities is a much more interesting way of learning English and spelling than the grinding study of text-books. Compositions written by girls from different reformatories give an excellent picture of recreational life in these institutions.

Recreation

After describing a Fourth of July celebration at Bedford, with trips to the woods and fields to gather lovely ferns and flowers, the making of a long daisy chain, a procession led by Uncle Sam and the Goddess of Liberty, and the out-of-door games which followed, one young woman struck the keynote with regard to an important purpose of recreation in a reformatory when she wrote: "I must say I never had a better time. It showed me how one can enjoy a good time in a good and honest way."

Recreation which develops strong bodies, gives new re-

sources of pleasure and demonstrates possibility of wholesome fun, is most important. When we learn of special festivities on Washington's Birthday, Hallowe'en, Fourth of July, Thanksgiving and Christmas, listen to the Glee Club on the lawn, watch basket-ball games and gymnastic contests out-of-doors, or look at scenes from a Shakespeare play at the foot of a grassy hill, we appreciate the value of this new kind of recreation in the lives of these unfortunate girls. For the first time, in their enthusiastic enjoyment of out-of-door sports and wholesome amusement, many girls are finding recreation re-creative. Interest in new pleasures drives out memories of old excitements and adds zest to life. Anticipation and memory of the big celebrations fill minds with wholesome thoughts. Other by-products are important. By following the rules of the game, girls learn regard for the rights of others, acquire greater control over themselves, and discover the meaning of fair play.

In guiding this recreation, much depends upon the enthusiasm and leadership of workers in the reformatory. When superintendent of Bedford, Dr. Davis coached the girls in their plays, led the band, and personally directed the successful holiday festivities; at the Massachusetts Reformatory for Women, Mrs. Jessie Hodder trains her chorus of women, supervises their operettas and concerts, and plans for baseball games; at Hudson, the energetic gymnastic director trains the teams in preparation for the big basket-ball games, arranged by Dr. Bruce, and at Sleighton Farm enthusiastic young college women under Mrs. Falconer's leadership, join heartily with the girls in the out-door games and sports.

The contrast between the social method of recreation and work in American reformatories and the individualistic method of European institutions is very marked. While visiting in France the reformatory-prison at Fresnes, to which girls from sixteen to eighteen years are sent for violating regulations of the morals police of Paris, I saw a young girl of sixteen with a black mask-like cloth over her face going out to take her solitary ex-

ercise. The mask hid her from other prisoners as she passed the single cells where each sat sewing. We followed her into the yard fourteen or fifteen feet square, surrounded on three sides by high brick walls and on the fourth by the side of the prison building. Removing the mask, she could see the green grass beneath her feet and the blue sky above, but nothing more. She had no glimpse of the beautiful trees and the rolling country just beyond the prison walls or of any of her companions in the institution. I could not believe that the danger of associating with other girls could be as harmful as this solitary life which gave no opportunity for the development of an individual as a social being.

Religion in Reformatories

The power of religion in changing and strengthening lives is recognized by reformatories for women. Special services are held each week for girls of Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish faith. While fewer religious exercises are required in public than in religious reformatories, the spiritual influence is often deep and vital. Opportunity for instruction by religious teachers is also given. Co-operation of these same workers is secured in supervising and helping women after their release on parole. By loyalty to these individuals, women gradually become loyal to the ideals they present.

Discipline and Control

Persons accustomed to old prison methods find it difficult to understand how women can be given such freedom in work and play as the cottage reformatory affords. The prison has depended upon bars and locks; the new reformatory depends upon creating a spirit of loyalty, trust, and co-operation. Such experiments as have been made with men in New York State at Sing Sing and at Great Meadow prison within the last few years have revolutionized the public idea about honor among criminals. We are less distrustful than we were. When we see a

large group of women working or playing out-of-doors, with one teacher or no one apparently supervising them, it seems to us comparatively easy for any determined woman to make her escape. No walls, fences, or bars impede her. But we have not counted upon her spirit of loyalty to the institution or that of other girls upon whose help she depends. They would surely "give her away" or aid in her apprehension. Knowledge of others who have failed in the attempt and suffered curtailment of privileges, loss of approbation of teachers and girls, and postponement of the day of parole, helps to check women impelled by no higher motive. Desire to prove worthy of the trust imposed in them, causes many girls to guard it jealously.

It is true that girls in cottages have much more freedom than other women in the reformatory. Promotion to cottage life has been the reward of good behavior; removal from a cottage has followed bad conduct. Consequently, stimulus is given to uphold the good reputation of the cottage group and to continue enjoyment of its privileges. Then there is in Bedford the possibility of being chosen for residence in the "honor cottage" where girls enjoy more privileges than elsewhere in the institution. At first women were promoted to the honor cottage by the votes of their peers; since it was discovered that candidates were purchasing votes by their favors and were not being elected on the basis of genuine merit, the power of promotion has been assumed by the officials of the institution.

The greatest difficulty in discipline is with the demoted group. One breach of discipline at Bedford by which girls give vent to their feelings is in breaking all the windows in a long corridor. "Smashing out," they call it. "I felt like smashing out the other night when a matron spoke hateful to me," confided one of the women, "but I don't like the idea of being locked up six weeks in prison. I did my best to keep Jennie from it, but it was no use. She hollered over to me from the next cell and says, 'It's in my mind—I must smash out.' Early the next morning she did it." Refused the privilege of writing two

letters one month and displeased with a new matron, an overwhelming desire to do something desperate came upon her. Satisfaction with life in Rebecca Hall was expressed by Jennie's companion—a feeble-minded girl. "I wouldn't live up in the honor cottage. There's no excitements up there—no smash-outs or runaways. Besides I don't like other girls over me."

The penalty at Bedford for attempted escapes, smashing out, and other serious violations of rules is a period in the disciplinary building. Women have a diet of bread and water, and lest they do violence to themselves are allowed no furniture in their cells during the day. At night a couch is moved in. Here in solitary confinement, they have a taste of real prison punishment.

In spite of success in creating a spirit that successfully controls many inmates, women's reformatories have not completely abandoned the prison idea. There is still too much reliance placed upon grilled windows, locked doors and prison punishments, and too little upon developing a spirit of trust and honor among the entire group. To accomplish this, matrons and teachers must be secured who have a vision of the possibility of a real honor system and ability to enlist the enthusiasm and interest of the women in it. With the adoption of a system of self-government in reformatories, women will be better prepared to measure up to the standard of right living which they must be trusted to pursue after leaving the institution.

Parole Work

The reformatory's success in preparing young women for life and in giving them abiding interests and ambitions and a different spirit, is put to the test during the parole period. Most of these women as they stand on the threshold ready to depart from the institution intend to make good, but they do not realize the temptations before them and the moral cost of keeping faith. It is fortunate that they have friends in the institution concerned about their welfare, and parole officers to steady

them and to help during this testing time. As the parole day has been the goal toward which each woman has eagerly looked, she is now anxious to prove her oft-repeated determination to "be a good woman."

Parole work differs little from probation except that it deals with women released conditionally from an institution instead of from a court. The parole officer investigates the homes and future places of employment, secures work for the women, visits them as frequently as possible, and exercises supervision over them. If girls return to their immoral living or fail to live up to the condition of good behavior, they are returned to the reformatory.

The incentive given to women by the possibility of being paroled before completing the maximum term, proves the wisdom of the indeterminate sentence. At Bedford, each woman is committed for a maximum term of three years with privilege of release by the institution at any time, according to good behavior, spirit and needs. Those who do well in the reformatory are paroled in less than three years and are under supervision for the balance of the three-year period. The most difficult women who have not conducted themselves sufficiently well within the institution to "earn parole" are absolutely discharged. Yet the complexities of their characters indicate that they are in greater need of oversight than those who have responded more readily to the discipline and methods of the reformatory. This is obviously wrong. Public reformatories should have power to supervise all their inmates after release. This could be accomplished by extending the maximum term to five years or committing for an indeterminate sentence without maximum or minimum limits. At the State Training School at Hudson, girls under fifteen committed to the institution may not be held after they reach the age of eighteen; those fifteen or over may be detained for a maximum period of three years; yet according to law, all are under the control of the institution until they are twenty-one years of age. Efforts of girls

to be released from parole after they were married, caused the Attorney General of New York State to render an opinion with regard to this. The opinion declared that the control of the institution over paroled young women terminated with their marriage. The evil effect of this may readily be seen. Regardless of the character of the men, young women marry to escape supervision during a long parole period. Even if it is found that a paroled girl of nineteen is living with her husband and supporting him by prostitution, the public institution has no jurisdiction. This defect, for the removal of which legislation is necessary, should be guarded against by other states in formulating laws for public reformatories.

Successful parole work demands an adequate number of parole officers. In the institution, each cottage group of 25 or 30 women is supervised by two workers, teachers and special instructors. At one time, one parole officer has under care 200 or more women scattered in different towns and cities. She may utilize religious organizations and volunteer associations in helping her, yet she has the responsibility of supervising this large group. The impossibility under such conditions of making parole a vital factor in the lives of these individuals, is clear. Massachusetts, more than any other state, has recognized the need of closely supervising its paroled girls. The Industrial School at Lancaster has ten parole officers under direction of a superintendent, to supervise a group of 300 to 400 girls. No officer has under care more than 40 young women. Owing to their residence in different parts of the state, the parole officer may be obliged to travel considerably in visiting them and placing them in different positions.

The character of the work and the environment of paroled girls are important factors in determining their success or failure. In this respect too great uniformity of practice has been observed. Regardless of inclinations or ambitions, some institutions have placed nearly all their girls at housework in the country. Even though girls remain in these positions while

under control of the institution, as soon as they are discharged from parole they usually return to their old homes in the city and to other employment. Without the same protected environment, they easily slip back into old temptations. That they may become more firmly and permanently reestablished it is far wiser to place women at work which they desire to follow for a longer time than merely during the period of parole.

Girls who violate their parole must return to the institution. It is indeed a bitter day for a young woman with any feeling of sensitiveness, to face again superintendent, matrons, and teachers to whom she vowed her determination to prove her worthiness. She is humiliated before her former associates. She takes a lower rank in the institution, is not permitted to enter cottage or classes, and mingles with others similarly disgraced.

A satisfactory standard of parole demands an adequate number of parole officers to supervise girls closely, sufficiently long parole periods to give each woman the privilege of supervision for one or two years at least, close co-operation between parole department and reformatory so that work outside the institution may be closely related to work within, and prompt action of parole officers in returning women who have violated parole. The success of women who finish their parole creditably is a partial index to the success of the work of the reformatory.

Do Reformatories Reform?

Doubtless no question pertaining to reformatories is asked more frequently than this: "Do reformatories reform?" For an accurate answer to this question, there is little data available. Shall we count as reformed those who have completed their parole satisfactorily or who have avoided subsequent arrest? That would evidently be inaccurate. Women may have returned to their old manner of living immediately after release

from parole or they may have evaded detection for later violations of law. The institution is not likely to know of relapses after its control ceases. We are told that of a group of 668 girls paroled from Bedford, 393 young women were discharged from parole after doing well; but we do not know how many of these young women did well after a test of two or three years in society. A study which I made in 1906 of 444 girls paroled from the House of Refuge on Randall's Island and from the State Industrial School at Rochester, two years after the close of those institutions, showed that 125, or approximately 33 per cent., were living upright lives.

In order to measure results even approximately, a careful study should be made of reformatory women several years after their final discharge from the control of the institution. Such a study would show whether suitable women are being committed by courts to reformatories, would test methods of training in the institution, and would indicate most potent causes of failure. It would show whether states maintaining reformatories are justified in increasing expenditures for them and whether there is reason for extending widely the reformatory system to other states. It would undoubtedly reveal as the principal causes of failure, the impossible task imposed by courts upon women's reformatories, of reforming feeble-minded and demoralized women who belong not in reformatories but in custodial institutions and farm colonies.

CUSTODIAL INSTITUTIONS

Mental incompetents should be committed directly from courts to custodial institutions for defective delinquents. Attention has been called by reformatories to the number of feeble-minded women committed to their care and the inadequacy of facilities in institutions dealing with them. Dr. Bruce, superintendent of the New York State Training School at Hudson, said in her annual report of 1910: "It is a waste of energy and

of the money of the state for us to work upon the theory that these girls can be educated so that they can safely live outside of an institution. It is they who form a large proportion of our "failures." It has been found at Bedford by the Bureau of Social Hygiene that from 20 to 37 per cent. of the women committed there are mentally defective. Probation officers and workers with delinquent girls are constantly confronted with the need of committing feeble-minded girls. But where shall we commit them? Institutions for the feeble-minded are already overcrowded; they object to receiving delinquents and declare they have no facilities for controlling or segregating them. Surely we do not want to send them to prison! Because no other way appears, we frequently send them to reformatories. There at least they will be supervised for three years.

But we have seen that the reformatory is not the right place for them and that it is unfair to delinquent women who are normal to place them in the same institution. Further, the feeble-minded need permanent care. If allowed to go out after two or three years, they will only fail again and have to be returned.

A law passed in 1914 in New York State makes it possible for a feeble-minded woman, on application of a relative, friend, probation officer, or other responsible person, to be committed permanently to a custodial institution. Certificates from two medical practitioners must be presented to a court of record through which the commitment may be made. This is a step in the right direction. Previously there was difficulty in their retention by institutions for the feeble-minded, and after a few weeks or months they were released at the request of parent or relative.

Special custodial institutions for feeble-minded delinquents are needed, where industrial training and out-of-door work can be adapted to the limited abilities of these defective young women, where they can remain permanently or at least during the child-bearing period, and where under supervision they may

have a happy life. By the installation of a careful sifting process in courts, women should be sent directly to these institutions and not distributed in prisons and reformatories.

FARM COLONIES

For the group of hopeless women whose minds are too poisoned and whose wills are too weakened to make right living probable, special institutional provision should be made in farm colonies. It is useless for them to go in and out of courts and prisons, paying small fines or serving short sentences, and returning at once to their lives of debauchery. We see them intoxicated or drugged, lying in dark alleys, drowsing on park benches, or begging a dive-keeper for a last drink. Now they are "drunks" and "bums"; a few years ago before drink and drugs had fastened their clutches upon them they were successful prostitutes and "kept women." What hope remains? None, except to get them away from the drink and drugs for which they would sell body and soul and give them work in a healthful environment in the country. There in the out-of-doors, they will be away from the overwhelming temptations of the big city. We cannot even hope for their reform.

A beginning has been made in providing for this group. New York State has established a State Farm at Valatie for women over thirty years of age who have been convicted five times in two years. Massachusetts has such an institution at Bridgewater for the older, more hardened offenders. As other states recognize the need of more permanent care for these unfortunates, they will doubtless separate them in special farm colonies.

Intelligent understanding of the needs and possibilities of helping delinquent women demands a more rational plan for dealing with them. When by their arrest they are brought within the jurisdiction of the court, let effective action be taken,—probation for the most hopeful, reformatories for those capable of training, custodial institutions for the feeble-minded,

and farm colonies for those beyond the point of responding to a reformative method of treatment. By following such a plan, we shall safeguard those needing the protection of society and restore to useful, normal living, all for whom there is hope and promise.

CHAPTER IX

A CAMPAIGN OF PREVENTION

All that we may do to help young women by probation, reformatories, and other correctional methods, serves only to save those already drawn into the current. Even while they are being helped out, thousands of others are falling in and being carried beyond hope of safety. As long as the deadly stream flows through our cities, unprotected girls will be engulfed. To stem the great tide of prostitution, we must stop the tributary streams at their sources or divert them to other channels.

We have seen that wise laws, vigorously enforced, can prevent the exploitation of girls by procurers, and thus lessen the volume of vice. By far-reaching social action, education, and religion, we can cut off other sources of supply and turn impulses that create demand into channels where they will make for happy homes and a stronger, finer race. Only by checking both supply and demand will young women ultimately be saved from the deadly stream of prostitution.

THE HOME

In safeguarding our girls it is most important to improve conditions within the home and to lessen demoralizing influences there. Greater efforts should be made to preserve the home, to insure family life to every child, to lessen the evils of overcrowding and sweatshop work, and to promote that mutual understanding and sympathy between parents and children which makes the home the most important single factor in the building of character.

Homes are too readily broken up because of poverty, illness, or death. This is entirely wrong. Unless there is serious moral delinquency, vitiating the atmosphere with immorality or drunkenness, families should be kept together. No mothers who are suitable guardians should be deprived or relieved of the care of their children. Pensions from private or public agencies should be available for widowed mothers who are making an earnest struggle to maintain their homes. Court orders requiring deserting husbands to make a generous allowance from their weekly wages, and provision whereby imprisoned men may earn money for the support of their families, should make it possible for many women not widows, to keep their children with them. A system of social insurance should safeguard the home against the economic consequences of illness, accident, and unemployment, and should provide pensions for old age. Increased effort should be made to lessen the number of untimely deaths due to tuberculosis, occupational diseases, and other causes, and to check the devastation of homes by drunkenness, crime, and immorality.

Finally, recognizing the family as the unit, and the home as the fundamental basis of our social order, we should demand more knowledge of the influences which tend to shatter them; and we must also demand, and help to effect, a program of conservation. The federal government tells us that one in every twelve marriages in the United States ends in a divorce. We should, by searching study, penetrate conditions making for the dissolution of these and of that far greater number of homes whose difficulties never reach a court.

Children who lack parental care through the moral delinquency or the death of their parents should receive the effective guardianship of the state. It is not right to doom them to orphan asylums. A placing-out system, well-organized and wisely directed, should provide every normal child with a good foster home. Frequent investigation and inspection are necessary to safeguard these children against exploitation and to

make sure that opportunities for education are being afforded. Children should not be free to return to dissolute parents after a period of four or five years in an institution, or be set adrift in a big city with no one directly responsible for them. The state must maintain its watchful guardianship over them until they reach the age of twenty-one.

To lessen the wreckage due to home conditions, overcrowding must be checked. When we see families huddled together in narrow rooms, we marvel that a remnant of decency and modesty remains. Yet many mothers are still ignorant of the moral dangers to their children from the presence of boarders and lodgers, and from the crowding of girls and boys and parents in the same room. We rule that prisons and lodging houses must allow a definite number of cubic feet of air space for each individual; but we do little that is effective to interfere with the sovereign liberty of the individual citizen to keep his family in quarters far too narrow, according to any standard of decency. To prevent overcrowding, Board of Health rules, laws, or city ordinances should be invoked; methods for enforcing them should be devised, and educational methods should be employed to bring home to mothers and fathers a knowledge of the moral perils involved in such promiscuous association. We need wiser methods of distributing aliens to different parts of the country which would lessen congestion in our big cities, and wiser systems of taxation which would tend to lower rents and help to relieve the tremendous economic burden forcing many to live in cramped spaces. Both the physical and moral welfare of our children demand that overcrowding of homes be lessened.

We should insist also that the homes of the poor should not be workshops. A manufacturer should not be allowed to transfer to his employees in the tenements the burden of supplying the rent and light and heat, which are elements in the cost of the manufactured product and are justly a charge upon him. As long as home work is permitted, moreover, children will be

employed. Only its absolute prohibition will free them from grinding toil in the tenements.

Greater sympathy and understanding on the part of parents strengthens their power in moulding the characters of their children, and helps them later, when temptations come, to keep them to the right course. Only when parents realize that not by repressive methods of discipline and punishment do children learn the most important lessons of life, but by opportunity for choice and self-expression, and by example and love, will fathers and mothers succeed in doing what they might to prevent moral disaster. A father cannot habitually denounce, punish, scold, nag, and beat his children, and still expect to retain their respect and love. He must know he has no right to "turn the girl out" when she has lost her work or returned late from a dance. By his harsh treatment he is pushing her constantly away from him, and perhaps driving her to take the first step into immorality. By his unwillingness to forgive that first step and his threats to "put her away" he may push her still further on into a life of prostitution. Over and over again girls have told me how their fathers' treatment and distrust fostered in them a "don't-care," reckless, or rebellious spirit. "I had the name and I thought I might as well have the game," many girls have declared. The same antagonistic, unforgiving spirit which caused quarrels and beatings while the girl was at home, is now responsible for the father's refusal to do anything to help his daughter. He insists, "She's made her own bed and has got to lay in it," or "I'd sooner pull a dog out of a gutter than turn over my finger to help her." The patriarchal idea of ownership and control of children must gradually give place to a more democratic relationship within the home. Immigrants seek in "free America" escape from oppressive rulers, yet continue to exercise within their own homes all the prerogatives and powers of a czar. Running away from home, or turning to a man who offers friendship, is a natural reaction to such conditions. Creation of a different spirit

within the home is the only way by which a change can be accomplished.

By the control, patience, kindly disposition, self-sacrifice, faith, and love of parents, children learn to control and govern themselves. The most satisfactory training comes not by word or by precept, but by the quiet example of daily living. By faith and trust placed in them, children become more trustworthy. By opportunity for self-expression, they become morally stronger. Gradually characteristics are developed which are sufficiently strong to resist demoralization and to control base impulses.

Every agency that comes in contact with the home in any way, has the responsibility to help in educating parents. Visiting nurses, charitable and church workers, truant and probation officers, social settlements, and most of all the public schools, have opportunities to do constructive educational work in the homes. By mothers' meetings, by literature which children may carry home from school, and by many more visiting teachers who can interpret the child to the family, the public school can make its influence still greater in the most sordid, dark, crowded, and unhappy homes of the city. It can help to make them less sordid and wretched. We should demand more in the school curriculum to train girls in caring for homes and to prepare them for the vocation of motherhood; we should demand teachers with greater ability and personality and power of inspiration, to guide these young women who are to be future mothers. However difficult may be the task of educating the mothers of this generation, we may hope, if we will but do our duty in training the children through the public schools, that ultimately better homes will be developed.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Another way to lessen moral wreckage among girls is by reducing the tremendous economic pressure to which many of them are subjected. Haunted by worry about loss of work or

inability to find a job, surrounded by actively vicious conditions or by such insidious dangers as fatigue and overstrain and the impossibility of satisfying wants on meagre wages, doomed to dull, mechanical work because they have been pushed out at an early age without preparation or training, these young women are constantly on the firing line. When they go down, whom shall we blame? The burden must rest not upon them, but upon *us*. We have consented to let industry speed them up to highest tension at one moment and cast them aside the next; we have failed to relate workers to work and to provide for seasons of unemployment; we have been indifferent to poisoned atmosphere and to long hours of ceaseless toil which have burned out not only physical strength but moral endurance; we have decided that young girls in the first flush of womanhood, when ideals and visions should be shaping them for bigger and finer ends, shall have their minds and souls cramped and stunted by deadening work. Had we raised our voices loudly enough against this oppression, legislators, employers, stockholders, and an indifferent public would have listened.

There is enough work in the world to give opportunity to every young woman who desires it. It is necessary, however, to readjust industry by reducing long, slack seasons, and to standardize household labor so that it shall become less servile. Were it not for the rapidly changing fashions, many industries could spread their work more uniformly over the year, instead of crowding it into short rush periods. This is especially true of the garment and millinery trades, the boot and shoe industries, and the silk and cotton mills. Upon women rests the responsibility to help in regularizing industry through fixing more definite standards in women's dress.

Even when great industrial crises come and numberless girls are deprived of their work in store, office, workshop, and factory, there is still a larger demand for women's labor in household work than there are workers available for it. Untrained immigrants still constitute our largest source of supply, and

when suddenly, as in this period of great European conflict, immigration is greatly reduced, the cry for domestics is still louder. Why should there be such a wide discrepancy between the number of workers and the opportunities in household labor? Because women have not yet standardized work in the home. While demanding shorter hours, freedom from night work, and opportunity for good recreation for our factory sisters, we forget the long weary hours of those who work in our own homes. Freedom for one or two afternoons or evenings each week has seemed adequate for them. We have tried to justify the system on the ground that "they have light, airy rooms," "plenty of time to themselves," and "high wages," yet we have been aware that it has been constantly more difficult to get good household servants. The truth is we have never undertaken to measure their duties, and to check up their hours carefully, and on the basis of time, amount of work, and efficiency, determine what their labor is worth.

To solve this grave household problem, women must raise the status of workers by demanding a higher type of service and assuming a different attitude toward their employees; they must make and keep their contracts faithfully, and fix definite standards by determining prices for a certain number of hours, kind, and quality of work. A beginning in this direction has been made by a group of young women entering the field of domestic service under the name of "mothers' helpers"; by several schools sending out girls to do work for three or four hours a day for a fixed price per hour, according to the kind of work; and by increased recognition of the necessity of domestic training in schools and classes in household arts. These and other signs give promise of a time when household service shall be standardized and subject to many of the same regulations controlling other fields of work.

To an increasing extent labor is being taken from the home and given over to factories and workshops. As weaving of cloth and making of clothing have been transferred to the fac-

tories in the past, so the preserving of fruits and vegetables, baking, laundry work, and even mending and cleaning, are now being surrendered. It is not too much to expect that to a far greater degree, in the future, we shall rid the home of other duties until the amount of home labor is vastly reduced.

When household labor is standardized and lessened, the mobility of workers between it and other forms of employment will be far greater. Even now, during slack seasons in the millinery and dressmaking trades, we find some young women going to the seashore or mountains as waitresses in summer hotels. There is possibility of widely extending this dovetailing of different kinds of work, and so reducing the evils of seasonal employment.

Public employment bureaus should bear more adequately the responsibility for connecting positions and workers. Special departments for girls and women, careful investigation of all places of employment, and genuine regard for the aptitude of individuals, are fundamentally requisite. Young girls seeking work should not be left to the mercy of private employment agencies, as the only alternative to answering advertisements in newspapers or watching for signs on buildings. The public bureau should afford moral protection, seeing to it that girls shall not be sent to disorderly resorts, cafés, and hotels, or to other dangerous places. By its wider opportunities for advertisement, it should reach many young women who do not know where to turn in search of work. It is not only the function of city and state to provide such public agencies; the federal government should establish a central clearing house of workers, by organizing a chain of agencies through the entire country.

More systematic plans for vacations at one or two periods during the year would tend to lessen the long periods of enforced idleness. It is not only possible, but desirable, that women should have a rest-time from the strenuous routine of their work, if they can plan for it in advance and if it is not too

long. While three months may prove disastrous, one month may be a blessing.

For such enforced idleness as remains after efforts to distribute work more uniformly through the year, to make household labor more attractive, to relate women to positions through public bureaus, and to provide systematically for vacations, we must turn for relief to education in thrift, and to health and unemployment insurance. It is important that we make greater efforts to encourage saving, even in small amounts, for the time of need. We should demand that the government assume obligation for a well-organized insurance system to safeguard workers against the periods of illness and unemployment. We must not depend upon the wholly inadequate benefit associations in a few stores and factories, or upon the pitifully small stipends of trade unions. The state has recognized that workers should be protected against accidents in industry. Why should it not also protect them against sickness and unemployment? One result of such a system unquestionably will be to hasten the discovery of new methods for lessening the total amount of unemployment and for improving health and preventing disease.

Through legislation, sustained by federal courts, forbidding child labor and night work for women, and limiting the number of hours and days of women's work, we have taken an important step in lessening moral dangers. Freedom from factory work until the age of fourteen, prohibition of all-night work for women in factories and stores, a fifty-four hour week and an eight-hour day, are important gains. Yet only a few states have won these advantages. Even those have exceptions which relax the power of the laws relating to hours, at certain seasons of the year—at stock-taking time, at Christmas, or when fruits and vegetables are ready for the canneries. In most states laws apply only to factories and stores, and not to telephone exchanges, hotels and restaurants, railroad stations, and many other places where women do night work. Yet the moral dangers in these places are very great. Many states

afford but little or no protection for women and children in industry. Children are still tending looms in cotton mills, picking coals from breakers, shucking oysters, and working far into the night in canneries. Employers justify their action by declaring that children are better off in the mills than on the streets, and that there are no schools for them. Even though it means increased taxation, it is a public duty to provide adequate schools. Our sense of justice should arouse us to the necessity for protecting our children. By forcing them into work we are robbing them of their youth, of their right to play, and of training for the work they should do later on, and are thrusting them into temptations far beyond their power to resist. A powerful, pleading voice raised long ago in behalf of the small girls and boys in the English mills, bids us listen to the cry of the children, provide for their education, and grant them the playtime and freedom of childhood.

There is need of careful study and co-operation with employers to minimize dangers which do not come within the scope of the law. Public opinion should discredit the employment of young girls in barber shops patronized wholly by men, and the practice of sending girls as cloak and suit models around the country with traveling salesmen. It should insist upon greater protection for girls who are employed in moving picture houses, theatres, studios, stores, offices, and hotels. Might not a system of inspection be instituted, covering all kinds of work in which young girls are employed, and having for its purpose the detection and correction of moral dangers? Is it not of equal importance to see that the atmosphere in which they work is free from moral contamination as it is to protect them from physical dangers?

The inability of young women to maintain a wholesome standard of living on the very low wages they receive, and the evil effects of economic pressure in lowering standards for the entire family, force us to demand for all workers a living wage. Since collective bargaining and the good-will of the employers

have thus far failed to accomplish this, shall we not turn to the other avenue open to us—the determination of minimum wages by legally established wage-boards? I have long been reluctant to come to this decision. It has been forced upon me by employers themselves who declare that only relation of demand and supply can determine the rate of wages and that “business is business” and “girls must look out for themselves.” What a few broad-minded, generous-hearted employers may do voluntarily, the great mass must be forced to do. We shall doubtless find that the establishment of a minimum wage will force the untrained, inefficient, and mentally retarded workers out of industry, and compel the community to provide training or care for them at public expense. This is one of the strongest arguments for such legislation, instead of being, as frequently urged, a reason against it. Probably one result would be, to awaken us to the necessity of providing adequate industrial training for children and keeping them out of industry during the years when they are in greatest danger.

To increase economic efficiency and make it possible for young women to have greater satisfaction and joy in their work, vocational training is necessary. Not only should school curricula be better adapted to the needs of life and enlist interest and enthusiasm of children to a far greater degree than they do at present; but definite training should be given to all who wish to learn trades, to become proficient in clerical work, or to go on with their academic studies. Employment certificates should not be issued to girls until they have reached the age of sixteen, and have satisfied definite educational, physical, and mental requirements. To grant a certificate to a girl physically fourteen years of age, but with the mentality of a child of nine, is to send a nine-year-old girl into the industrial world. Can we expect that such a child will be able to safeguard herself or earn her living? While she is making the feeble attempt, some one must make up the deficit. It is just as important to know that children are mentally fit to cope with life as to de-

termine that they have physically reached the legal age-minimum.

At the time in their lives when girls are most easily influenced for evil or for good; when poetry, art, nature, and human relationships assume new meaning; when they may be awakened into the glorious world of beauty and truth and ideals, we send them into gloomy factories and basement workshops to pack cigars and crackers, to make paper boxes, to tie bundles, or to run sewing-machines. Can we expect other result than wreckage? Must we forever be blind and deaf to the moral, to the esthetic, and to the spiritual needs of these adolescent girls? The years they work at machines may be few; the span of their life is far longer. Let us restore to them, as well as to the little children, their birthright of freedom from ceaseless toil, of opportunity to prepare for life, and of wholesome play.

RECREATION AND PREVENTION

In keeping young girls from prostitution, we must check the streams which are bringing them in through public dance halls and other dangerous amusement resorts, and through lack of opportunity for good recreation. We must demand that amusement resources be not given over entirely to commercial interests making large profits from the normal desire for play. There is need of increased supervision and control of existing places, and of immediate action by the municipality to provide more adequately for recreational needs.

Can we stand looking at a sea of young men and women whirling by in a public dance hall; note the suggestive, sensual manner of swaying bodies; the innocent, youthful faces of some, and the hardened or flushed appearance of others; and then follow these reckless, half-intoxicated young people out into the night, without feeling to blame for making the path to vice so easy? We have made laws that would protect young girls in these dance halls from fire; but we have done nothing to safeguard them from moral dangers. It is possible to erect safeguards by

requiring that no girl under eighteen shall be admitted to such places unless accompanied by parent or guardian; that prostitutes, gangsters, and procurers shall be debarred; that an adequate system of supervision shall be established through matrons and inspectors, and that the sale of liquor shall be completely divorced from dancing. It is within the power of public officials to prevent professional prostitutes and gangsters from frequenting public dance halls. The use of halls can be denied to clubs composed of these dangerous people, and owners can be held responsible for the admission of notoriously bad men and women. Employment by dance halls of well-qualified, licensed matrons, and the appointment of official men and women inspectors, would make possible better supervision. In some cities the inspection of dance halls is the work of women with police power, detailed from the police department; in others it is being done by special dance hall inspectors. By insisting upon higher standards they have checked immoral dancing. By questioning young girls apparently under legal age, securing their names and addresses, and later visiting them in their homes and talking with their mothers, women inspectors have done efficient protective work.

The sale of liquor in dance halls and dancing in drinking places should be prohibited. This is absolutely necessary. Breaking the vicious association between drinking and dancing will remove one of the gravest moral dangers for young girls who seek relaxation and diversion in the café or the public dance hall.

All commercial dance halls should be licensed by a responsible city official. Careful inspections should be made before licenses are granted, and at frequent intervals afterwards, to make sure that legal requirements are observed. Violation of law must be followed unerringly by prosecution and revocation of license. Establishment of the bad reputation of an amusement resort, or proof that it is dangerous to the morals of youth, should be sufficient to secure the withdrawal of its license. We should

not safeguard so carefully the interests of owners as to allow dance halls, cafés, and other drinking places where women solicit for immoral purposes, to continue for years unmolested.

More efficient censoring of films, and more wholesome physical and moral surroundings, can reduce the dangers to which children are now subjected in moving picture theatres. Pictures may have a demoralizing influence upon youthful minds even when they are not actually obscene and do not represent immoral acts. Many such pictures are still being shown through the large and small cities and towns of our country. The practice of granting "special releases" in certain instances, before films are censored, explains the wretched character of some pictures; the use in small towns of films not acceptable to censorship committees in large cities, is responsible for the appearance of other objectionable scenes. Greater care should be taken also to prevent overcrowding and insanitary conditions, to enforce laws against admitting children unaccompanied by parent or guardian, and to secure adequate lighting of theatres. Every city should require that rooms be lighted during the exhibition.

Other protective measures should be taken. In public parks, piers, and other out-door amusement resorts, there should be more lights, more police protection, and more adequate supervision. To reduce immorality on boats, the co-operation of government officials is required in securing better federal laws, and of steamboat companies in providing better lighting on decks and matrons to supervise conduct, and in regulating more strictly the renting of staterooms. When the public awakens to the need of freeing places where young girls find their recreation from their more obvious moral dangers, we shall have far less wreckage of young lives.

It is not enough, however, to restrict and legislate against existing forms of amusement; we must give our girls larger resources for enjoyment and secure greater public provision for recreation. When for a brief time I walk beside the rolling

ocean where waves break in continuous roar upon a glistening beach of sand and shells, or when I stand on a lofty mountain top and look out upon a broad horizon of snowy summits, and revel in the miracle of sunset, I see a vast throng of young girls in dark, dreary tenements and crowded workshops, whose eyes have not been opened to know these beauties, who have never had a chance to enjoy them, and who have within themselves few resources of joy and pleasure. Their friends do not encourage and stimulate them; they do not know the delights of poetry, art, and music; nature has not revealed to them her secrets. There has been little to bring inspiration and light into their dwarfed, starved lives.

Why have they been denied these choicest gifts? Because we have failed to give them opportunity for enjoyment. We have chosen dull text-books in class-rooms instead of nature and life as their sources of knowledge. We have not gone to the trees, flowers, rocks, stars, mountains, and ocean, as teachers. We have neglected the vast resources of art, music, and literature about us, and the chance to teach these young people the joy of out-door sports and play. Upon the public school rests the responsibility to give to the youth of our country this wider education which will extend their narrow limits of available recreation and enjoyment. It means a reorganization of the school system to include definite time for play, for trips which combine recreation and study, and for out-of-door instruction in summer camps or schools. When I have seen groups of Swiss or German children climbing steep hills, gathering flowers in broad meadows, or visiting art museums or ruins of ancient castles, as part of their school work in summer, I have marvelled that in America we still adhere to the narrow, formal teaching, regardless of the opportunities for vitalizing work with play and training more effectively for life.

Greater public provision for recreation must be made by utilizing more fully the school plant and by improving the facilities in city and seaside parks. We should foster neighborhood

spirit by breaking up vast areas of a big city into smaller communities, as is being done by the local neighborhood associations in certain sections of New York City. A schoolhouse may well be the neighborhood centre, bringing together whole families for entertainments, lectures, and holiday celebrations. We have regarded the family too little in our plans. Recreational clubs have been formed for boys or for girls, but comparatively little has been done for boys and girls together, or for family groups. Too often, while the mother cares for the young children at home, the father finds his recreation in a saloon; the girl, in the dance hall; and the boy, in the street with his gang of friends. A definite attempt to provide group recreation would help to prevent this. I have never seen a more splendid demonstration of the value of community recreation, or felt more keenly its possibilities for laying the foundations of a larger citizenship, than one afternoon and early evening in summer at a public park in Chicago. The perfectly equipped field-house, distinctive of the Chicago park system, was crowded with boys and girls who were taking out or returning library books or using the gymnastic apparatus. Some mothers were watching their children in the wading-pool near by. Soon music was heard, and fathers, mothers, and children gathered around the green to watch the national folk-dances and games of a large group of Bohemian and Polish girls and boys, and to join in patriotic American songs. Men and women who only a short time before had been immigrants were feeling a deeper patriotism and finding real pleasure in this neighborhood recreation. May we not learn much from the way in which these simple folk celebrate festivities in their native European villages and enjoy their pleasures in family groups?

Recreational needs should receive consideration when new schoolhouses are being built or old buildings remodeled. A gymnasium, a swimming pool, and an auditorium spacious enough for lectures, moving pictures and dances, are among the requirements of the modern school. Provision should be

made for use of school buildings as recreational centres, for moving pictures, amateur dramatics, social clubs, music classes and neighborhood dances.

Parks and playgrounds can be made to serve their communities to a far greater extent than they do now. In cities where seashore or river front is accessible we should provide public bathing beaches. Rowing, swimming, tennis, skating, and other out-of-door games and sports, will prove genuine rivals to the public dance hall and amusement park.

When we consider how infinite are the possibilities of utilizing this great desire and need of youth to express itself in play, we realize how stupid we have been to allow commercial interests to monopolize recreation so completely. Instead of employing it as a protective power, we have let it become a demoralizing force. We have forgotten, as Jane Addams tells us, in her *Spirit of Youth and the City Streets*, "that recreation is stronger than vice, and that recreation alone can stifle the lust for vice."

MENTAL DEFICIENCY

The same indifference that has caused us to neglect the need of young people for the realization of the joy of life has been responsible for our blindness to the awful harvest of mental deficiency. We have recognized the feeble-minded girl in courts, reformatories and schools, when she showed her inability to do the simplest tasks or to live the usual life of her comrades. We have seen her in maternity hospitals and homes, with a feeble-minded baby in her arms, and an uncomprehending expression upon her face. Yet have we appreciated the full significance of her presence? Have we realized that every feeble-minded girl is a potential prostitute? Have we realized that feeble-minded mothers give birth to large numbers of children doomed to mental deficiency? Have we considered what this will ultimately mean in deterioration of human stock and in the complication of social problems?

To stop the stream which is bringing into prostitution large

numbers of mentally deficient girls and women, we must safeguard these girls and prevent them from having offspring. The most effective means of accomplishing this, and thus diminishing the problem for future generations, is to care for these girls *now* in custodial institutions and farm colonies.

Relationship between mental defect and delinquency is clearly recognized. Many feeble-minded children show precocious sex knowledge, are noticeably erotic, have immoral habits and tendencies, and teach other children vicious practices. They are easily influenced, choose inferior associates, and are subject to none of the checks operating upon normal individuals. Their inefficiency in work causes them to be discharged frequently and to drift carelessly from one low-grade occupation to another. There are seldom any restraining influences in their homes. They readily become the prey of vicious men and women. Is it any wonder that the boys often drift into vagrancy and crime, and the girls into a life of immorality? It is the "easiest way." Many of the young women give birth to one or more illegitimate children, and later join the ranks of prostitution. They are the hopeless group in every reformatory and correctional institution; they cannot be reformed. Only a safe environment will save them. Owing to a deficiency which is congenital, they cannot develop intelligence, will-power, and self-control. Yet had society safeguarded them from the time they were children, instead of being on the road to becoming the most hopeless and abandoned dregs of humanity, they might now be living happy, useful lives.

By this means, also, society would have been saved the burden of their feeble-minded offspring. Evidence presented to the Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-minded, in Great Britain, and careful studies in America show conclusively that mental deficiency tends strongly to be inherited and that feeble-minded mothers are more prolific than normal women. Such accidental causes as injuries at birth, malnutrition, abnormal conditions of parents; toxic diseases in

childhood, and variation account for some feeble-mindedness; but they are far less important in producing mental deficiency than the hereditary causes. The congenitally defective are the progeny of drunken, diseased, and feeble-minded parents. The greater probability of feeble-mindedness being transmitted through mothers than through fathers, and the larger number of offspring of mentally defective than of normal women, make especially urgent the care of defective women. Had we cared for the mentally deficient mother of one delinquent girl, Esther Edwards, thirteen illegitimate children would not have been born. If we care for the feeble-minded girls now in our cities, we shall prevent a host of feeble-minded offspring. Every day of inaction helps to lay a heavier burden upon us and upon posterity.

What are our present methods of dealing with this problem, and how can they be improved? Some cities have ungraded classes for mentally deficient children in public schools, to provide training more adapted to their abilities, and to make possible more individual teaching. Although these classes are intended for high-grade defective and backward children, the serious inadequacy of institutional provision results in keeping in them many for whom they are not adapted, who need custodial care.

City or state institutions receive defectives ranging from high-grade feeble-minded to idiots and imbeciles. The Massachusetts School for the Feeble-Minded is one of the oldest and best institutions. Educational and industrial classes and practical work in cottage and on farm, afford opportunity for the training and employment of nearly two thousand persons. The custodial institution for feeble-minded women at Newark, New York, cares for over 800 women of child-bearing age. Very gradually modern cottage colonies in the country are replacing the old congregate institutions. The five institutions in New York State are entirely inadequate for present needs. Each has a long waiting list, with only a slight increase in facilities from year to year. Unless parents take

children out, or additional cottages are built, there is little movement in the population. This makes the admission of new applicants very difficult. Even when commitment papers are made out, a girl so committed may never reach the institution. During the long period of waiting she may disappear or leave the city.

The freedom of parents or other relatives to take feeble-minded children from an institution thwarts the purpose of the state in providing custodial care. As soon as the girl is old enough to go to work and bring in a small wage, the mother often takes her out. Without a judicial commitment there is no way to prevent this. Until provision was made in 1914 for legal commitment through a court of record, permanent commitment was not possible in New York State. Many states still lack such provision. At present, in New York, it is not only possible to commit the child for an indeterminate period, but even to take action without the consent or against the will of parent or guardian. The application of a responsible person, supported by two competent medical authorities, is sufficient. Such provisions are important in securing more effective care for unprotected feeble-minded girls.

Another legal provision in several states, for preventing feeble-mindedness, is sterilization of defectives. So far there has been little practical result from such laws. They have applied chiefly to habitual criminals and to inmates of custodial institutions for defectives. Failure of public opinion to approve them has interfered with their enforcement. In Indiana, the first state to adopt sterilization laws, there has been opposition to their application. Sterilization would not, at any rate, solve the problem of feeble-minded women. Even though they were prevented from giving birth to offspring, these women would still spread disease, live abandoned lives of vice, and demoralize many young girls and boys.

One important measure for lessening the number of mental defectives is not yet satisfactorily enforced. I refer to that

part of the immigration law designed to prevent the entrance of feeble-minded aliens into the United States. In spite of mental examinations at our ports of entry, and penalties imposed upon steamship companies for bringing over defective or diseased persons, efforts to debar them have not been entirely successful. We constantly find mentally deficient girls who have slipped through undetected, or whose feeble-minded parents have been immigrants. There is need of more interpreters to work in conjunction with a larger force of mental examiners and physicians at our ports, more thorough mental examinations and increased facilities for observation, and the requirement of a blood test to detect infectious disease. More rigid enforcement of the law will result in far greater care by steamship companies in bringing over defective aliens, and will ultimately place responsibility for physical and mental examinations upon the foreign countries.

A more complete system for the detection and care of feeble-minded girls is essential. Low-grade girls are easily recognized; but far more painstaking, earnest effort must be made to find those who are less readily discovered, and who may be even more dangerous to the community. The public school is the first great sifting place because compulsory education laws bring children within range of the schools. There, an adequate system is necessary, to determine which ones are in need of training in special classes or in institutions. Children who show evidence of mental deficiency should be under the observation and care of specialized instructors and visiting teachers. When it is decided that custodial care is needed steps should be taken at once to provide for it.

The juvenile court is often the next public agency to deal with the feeble-minded child who escapes detection at school. While remaining in the detention home, boys and girls brought to this court should be given mental examinations by a competent psychologist. In Chicago, the director of the Psychopathic Institute, Dr. William Healy, sits with the judge of the Juve-

nile Court and advises with regard to dispositions in the cases of boys and girls whom he has examined.

Mental examination of adult offenders, and of persons referred from maternity homes, hospitals, and other sources, will reveal many girls and women in need of custodial care. Clinics for such examinations should be established in detention homes for adults and in connection with hospitals and the city department having control of charitable institutions.

Central registration of all feeble-minded persons in each county or state should be required. Philanthropic societies, courts, reformatories, official departments of charities, private physicians, hospitals, and public schools should report to a central agency the defective persons whom they know to be in need of custodial supervision.

As rapidly as possible a systematic policy for the segregation of these mental defectives should be devised and adequate institutional facilities provided. Special classes with probationary oversight may care for some, but the largest number must finally come into state institutions. The cost of establishing and maintaining a comprehensive system for their training and care is great; but it is small in comparison to the greater cost which, if we fail to make such provision, we will ultimately have to meet, in caring for the vast progeny of these feeble-minded individuals in charitable institutions, hospitals, courts, reformatories, and prisons. If for a few generations, we could segregate the feeble-minded, the number of defectives should be reduced to manageable proportions; if we fail to do this, we must accept as inevitable a heavy toll of delinquency, degeneracy, illegitimacy, poverty, crime, and prostitution.

RUNAWAYS AND DIFFICULT GIRLS

Feeble-minded young women are not the only ones who need protection. On the very brink of the stream of prostitution are the incorrigible and difficult girls who, in a moment of protest, anger, or adventure, have run away from home. There

are also the strangers within our gates—unsuspecting country girls and immigrants, adrift in a big, friendless city. There are young women, many of them unmarried mothers, brought dangerously near to the verge by the first immoral step, by the desertion of a man who had promised marriage, or by a sense of disgrace at facing the world with a "nameless" child. No danger signals warn them as they approach; no adequate protective barriers guard them from the deadly stream. It is our duty to erect these barriers and to make them secure.

Difficult girls, whose parents have proved their inability to control them, should be placed in special training or boarding schools. In this way the dangerous period from fourteen to sixteen or seventeen years of age may be bridged. As an extension of the educational system, rather than a legal place of commitment, there would not be the same stigma that attaches at present to the reformatory or disciplinary school. Instead, the training school would afford opportunities to girls recommended by their teachers for industrial training and work in a different and more wholesome environment. It would give to these difficult girls many of the same advantages which parents who can afford to pay high prices for tuition and board now seek for their children in boarding school. One great difference would be made in these new training schools. The principle applied so successfully at the Junior Republics should prevail: "Nothing without labor." Girls should receive remuneration for their work, be required to pay their board, and have part of their time for educational classes. By having the labor of the school done in this way, the cost of maintenance would be greatly reduced. Girls should also share in the management of the institution sufficiently to gain practical knowledge of the principles and methods of self-government. The unmistakable results of the George Junior Republic in bringing to girls on the brink of danger a different power of self-direction and control and a new motive in life, have convinced me that these same methods should be employed on a far wider scale. We

should not wait until these young people arrive in the reformatory for which they are destined, sooner or later, unless suitable training is given them; we should spend time and effort and money now in keeping them from becoming delinquent.

Far greater effort should be made to find runaway girls and to return them to their homes or to provide for them elsewhere. False pride of parents who fear unpleasant newspaper notoriety, indifference of married sisters or other responsible relatives, lack of any natural guardian, and inefficient effort by the police, explain why so many runaway girls from fourteen to eighteen years of age escape detection in a big city. A quarrel at home, a desire to see the world or to "be a movie actress," has drawn these reckless, venturesome girls into the maelstrom of the big city. They hide themselves in dangerous furnished-room houses, often adopt a "fancy" name, and almost at once come face to face with dire temptations. Their mental attitude and manner are such that they invite instead of ward off danger. They long to drink the very depths of life's cup, not realizing that it contains bitter as well as sweet. If discovered soon, when the golden haze surrounding their longed-for freedom has begun to tarnish or disappear, when they have awakened to the realization that they have no more money for room or board, no way to secure work without danger of revealing their identity, and no chance to make a great success on the stage, they may be saved from the irrevocable step. If no effort is made to find them, and dangers press closer and closer about them, they will inevitably go down.

Searching for these runaways should be one of the most important duties of women with police power. Most men police officers, overburdened with detection of serious crimes, do not consider a missing girl of great importance. Several new names of girls appear on the printed list sent each morning to the different station-houses. Perfunctory visits to the home of the girl and to hospitals and morgues, are not sufficient to find her. Keen detective work is often necessary. Amusement resorts

she was accustomed to frequent must be visited; her companions seen; her photograph secured; and every possible clue to her whereabouts obtained and followed. When it is learned that she has been seen in a certain locality, constant watching of houses, streets, parks, and amusement places in that neighborhood is necessary. The confidence of the girl's mother and relatives must be won as a basis for securing their co-operation and help in the search. The same effort which is put forth to find a particular girl will lead to the discovery of other young girls in danger. By friendly conversation in the course of visits to amusement resorts, furnished-room houses, boats and navy yards, names and home addresses of girls may be learned, or other clues secured, which lead to the discovery that they also are runaways. In order to make this work effective, it must be done by women of insight, judgment, and keen detective ability.

Even after the girl has been found, much remains to be done. Effort must be made to remedy the conditions in the home that led the girl to abandon it or to do the personal work with her which is needed. Until a much stronger system is built up by cities, with a larger number of efficient police women, this constructive work may well be given over to one or more private agencies in the community.

The young girl alone in a metropolis, whether from small city, rural district or foreign country, needs protection. Cut off from family and friends, she is without that social control which in her home community is a restraining influence; she is often ignorant of the customs, dangers, and resources of the big city. She does not know where to go in search of work, board, acquaintances, recreation, instruction, or when hard pressed, of financial help. Wider advertisement and greater effort on the part of social agencies which are equipped to help her would be of value.

Among these various organizations aiming to safeguard the stranger and the girl alone in the city are the Travelers' Aid

Association and various immigrant aid societies, Young Women's Christian Association and Young Women's Hebrew Association, the Girls' Protective League, and numerous boarding homes and philanthropic employment bureaus.

Protective work for young women traveling alone often safeguards them from dangers. Representatives of Travelers' Aid societies or religious organizations in some cities, official police women in others, meet boats and trains, at all hours of day and night, to help strangers who do not know where to go or whose friends have failed to meet them. They often refer girls to boarding homes, employment bureaus, and co-operating protective organizations. Occasionally, when young girls are met by suspicious appearing men, police intervention is sought.

Immigrant aid societies have representatives at important ports to advise alien girls and aid them in locating friends, to accompany them to boarding homes, and to communicate with relatives in distant cities. Some associations continue to befriend girls after they are settled, put them in touch with classes or night schools where they can learn English, and with clubs where they will meet their own country-women.

Many boarding homes afford protection to young women alone in the city. At prices varying from \$4 to \$6 a week, they offer board and room or bed in a dormitory. A few have prices as low as \$3 or \$3.50 a week. The average is nearer \$4.50. Gradually, as these homes are being managed more wisely, with fewer rules and restrictions, and as they are being placed more nearly or completely on a self-supporting basis, former prejudice against them is disappearing. There is still opportunity for them to fulfil a larger need. They should reach more young girls who are without protection, rather than older women; they should give girls more opportunity to share in the government, so that there would be less rebellion against rules; and most important of all, they should be permeated with a genuine social spirit. Several girls whom I have known, while still in a boarding home, have been driven through want and

lack of work to accept improper proposals from men. There has been no one to help them secure work, and no one sufficiently friendly to whom they felt they could confide their troubles. The result has been disastrous. A wise, motherly, big-hearted woman should be in every one of these houses and should help to create and maintain in them a spirit of neighborliness and love.

In meeting the housing problem for young women living alone, an experiment is soon to be tried in New York City. Socialized apartment houses are to be built. They will contain small apartments of one to five rooms and bath, a restaurant, library and parlors. Two or more young women can combine in renting apartments, do part or all of their own housekeeping, and whenever they desire, patronize the restaurant or share in maid service for cleaning. An investigation undertaken by the Young Women's Christian Association to determine the kind of boarding house it should build in New York City, revealed that young women themselves wanted small apartments. They desired a place which was more truly a home where they could have their own things and "boil their own egg for breakfast." To make this apartment house self-supporting, as is intended, its patronage will necessarily be limited to girls earning as much as \$10 a week. A plan for such an apartment house, intended, however, to meet the needs of girls receiving lower wages, was outlined in the will of a man formerly associated with a retail drygoods store, who died in New York in 1916. A sum of \$400,000 was left for the purchase of land and erection of buildings to be known as the "Webster Apartments," and a sum was set aside to meet a deficit in running expenses until the apartment should become self-supporting. Among the conditions named was that special provision should be made for girls out of work and for those who could afford only low rent.

Until such time as public employment bureaus meet the need of finding positions for young women, philanthropic agencies must aid in this. By lessening dangers for girls seeking employ-

ment, they constitute a real protective force. These various aid associations, boarding homes, and employment bureaus can reach a larger number of young women by more effective methods of advertising. Booklets, advertisements in evening papers, posters, noon-hour talks, hand-bills and cards distributed to newcomers at railroad stations and boat landings, and to working girls in places of employment, can make known their facilities to larger numbers of the young women for whom they are intended.

Among the difficult and runaway girls, and strangers from other cities, towns, and foreign countries, are young women exposed to great danger as the result of their immoral acts. To save them from the tide of prostitution, they too are in need of protection. Fearing or knowing that they are to give birth to a child, they seek medical advice from private physicians or at hospitals and clinics. Some have sought aid from midwives and illegal medical practitioners. Others make direct application to maternity or "rescue homes." Many become known to various social agencies, through complaints that they are frequenting dangerous places, associating with bad companions, or living with men to whom they are not married.

Social Service Departments connected with hospitals have a wonderful opportunity to help those who turn to hospitals for advice. This social service work, inaugurated in 1905 by Dr. Richard C. Cabot at the Massachusetts General Hospital in Boston, is rapidly extending through the country. After a physician has determined whether or not the patient is pregnant or suffering from venereal disease, he refers her to the worker in the Social Service Department who has charge of these young women. She talks with the girl, learns her story, and seeks to help her. That help may consist in placing her at work, securing medical treatment for her, referring her to a maternity home or a protective association, arranging for her to marry or to prosecute the father of her child, or in befriending her and helping to change her moral viewpoint. Even

when the diagnosis is "negative," there is often just as great need of moral help. Effective social service work in hospitals will turn many young women from their lives of immorality.

Maternity homes and hospitals have an important function in caring for girls who are to give birth to children, and in placing them at employment after convalescence. This is the most important work of institutions known as "rescue homes." Training in industrial and household work and in the care of children prepares these unmarried mothers for their later life. The personal influence of women in charge of the home often leads the young mother to desire to keep her child. Those who have studied most carefully the problem of the unmarried mother, agree that young women mentally normal, morally suitable, and physically able to rear their children, should, if possible, be persuaded to keep them. Exception to this would be made in cases of girls too young to have responsibility for their babies. Many mothers are placed with their children at housework in the country; others return to their former work or trade and board their babies in private families.

A requirement frequently made by homes, that girls must remain a minimum period of six months or a year, is unfortunate. The need of the individual should be the only determining factor. Frequently a girl is able to work for several months after she discovers that she is to give birth to a child and to return to work soon after her discharge from the hospital. She does not need a long period of detention, but only temporary help. I recall a young German woman whom we sent to a maternity hospital and for whom we secured a position two weeks after the birth of her child. As wet-nurse, Genevieve was taken with her own child to Canada and on various other trips with her employer. In less than a year she had saved over \$250. When her baby was a year old, Genevieve's father sent for her to return to Germany. The night before she sailed she received a small box from her employer, and when she opened it found a beautiful golden locket with two tiny pictures—one

of her employer's baby and the other of her own child. While the employer declared that her baby's life had been saved by Genevieve and felt the deepest gratitude, Genevieve had been very happy at her work and had found herself. It was far better for her than to have spent that year, or even half of it, in a "rescue home."

Whenever possible, the legal provision to compel the father of an illegitimate child to provide for its support, should be invoked. Sometimes paternity cannot be proved; at other times, the father disappears and cannot be traced. A court order, obligating the father for support, relieves the young mother of bearing the entire burden for her child, and also makes it a more serious matter for men to betray and desert young women.

When a spirit to safeguard ignorant and innocent girls shall have been awakened in young men, that will be a great protective force. Is it too much to hope that the consciences of men may ultimately become so sensitive to the sufferings of young women who have been wronged, that fathers will teach their sons a new and higher morality?

EDUCATION AND RELIGION

To prevent young women from entering prostitution more is needed than even wide-reaching social action in their behalf. Character strong enough to resist demoralization must be developed in girls; character capable of self-mastery and self-control must be developed in boys, and a standard of morality equally binding upon men and women must be demanded. The fulfilment of such a program can come only with the aid of the two great forces of education and religion.

During the last few years great emphasis has been laid upon "sex education." It is necessary that boys and girls should know about the important facts and functions of life and that more scientific teaching should be given. Information alone, however, will not prove an effective safeguard. Only as ethical

motive is infused in this instruction will it be of real value. Parents should tell the questioning child about the origin of life, and later, as puberty approaches, about physical changes. They should try to convey a sense of the sacredness of the body, and the wonder and glory of the creative function. Highest ideals of fatherhood and motherhood should be presented. When parents are unable to give instruction, the school must be depended upon for it. Classes in nature study, physiology, and biology, afford teachers opportunity for simple, direct instruction about reproduction in plants, animals, and human beings. In the later teaching, the importance of mental and physical fitness on the part of both parents can be emphasized, and simple principles of heredity and eugenics taught. Necessity for purity in thought and for controlled imagination, should be urged, based upon sound psychological principles.

Whenever boys or girls are suspected of having precocious sex knowledge or vicious personal habits, teachers must give them individual instruction and attention. Co-operation of parents should also be secured in changing the mental attitude and the habits of these children. The demoralizing effect of one or two such boys or girls in a large school makes it necessary that teachers shall be quick in recognizing them. The principal of an elementary school of over a thousand children told me of her discovery that five children from eleven to thirteen years old were poisoning the minds of many others by their immoral talk and practices. Little girls had been showing candy and hair-ribbons they had purchased with pennies given them by older boys, and had been instructing other children in immoral practices. The principal had not only the task of dealing with that group of five, finally eliminating them from the school, and having them placed where they would have the close supervision required; but of long personal talks with many children who had come under their influence, and of working closely with their parents. Individual instruction takes much time and seems almost impossible in enormous city schools, but only in

that way can the teacher deal successfully with those most in need of help.

Physicians, physical directors, and club leaders, through classes in night schools, settlements, and clubs, should teach those who have not received training at home or school. Men should have presented to them the results of disease upon individuals and future generations; the effect of alcohol, sensual literature, and immoral dancing in exciting sex impulses; and evidence that continence is not detrimental to health or virility or to the highest physical, mental, and moral efficiency.

No sex teaching, however, can take the place of moral training which strengthens the characters of boys and girls and lays foundations for noble living. I have spoken of the need of a greater feeling of responsibility on the part of fathers and mothers for inculcating the deepest lessons of life through their own daily living and association with their children. Teachers, club leaders, clergymen, and all who come in contact with boys and girls, share with parents this privilege of giving basic moral training.

The power to choose well is developed in children by having had the gift of choice. A sense of freedom and ability to express themselves comes through democracy in government at home and at school. A conception of justice is based on fairness in discipline and control. Understanding of duty is the result of appeal to their moral natures. Ideals of truth, courage, honesty, sincerity, self-sacrifice, and self-control, come by admiration and emulation of these qualities in others. Literature, especially biographies of heroic men and women, in which the noblest elements of character are revealed; and environment, which gives the child unconsciously an appreciation of the beautiful in music, art, and nature, will have deep effect upon boys and girls; but of still greater importance is the influence of men and women—teachers, parents, club-leaders, and others,—who by example and the contagion of their personalities inspire boys and girls to build strong, splendid characters. Fortunate

indeed are those who by the sincerity, nobility, sweetness, faith, and high ideals of parents or teachers, catch a vision of what their own lives may be.

As no life can attain its fullest development without recognition of the spiritual, the religious element is essential in the growth of character. Nothing else has such power to subdue rebellious impulses, to turn imagination into productive channels, to fill life with splendid interests, and give to it deep meaning. Nothing else reaches beyond the physical and the intellectual to the very soul, and gives the highest ideals of service and love. If we are to have stronger characters, higher standards, and more complete fulfilment of individual lives, we must all have a deeper spiritual sense and a more vitalizing religion. We must let go the sensual, the material, the temporal; we must lay hold on the ideal, the spiritual, the eternal. Then, and not until then, shall we see the great impulses which now contribute to vice, transformed into a creative force that will enrich the human race.

In supplying this religious motive, we should look to the church for more vital spiritual teaching. It should be the greatest source of inspiration to the youth of the country and should make religion a more important factor in daily living. It should not tolerate that girls should sacrifice their womanhood or boys debase their manhood on the altar of the false gods of vice. Its teachings and convictions should compel adherence to noblest purposes and aspirations. It should help us more effectively to show the love of God through service to our fellowmen. If we would strengthen the religious power in the lives of young girls and boys, we must deepen it within ourselves. A new call comes to us bidding us enthrone the spiritual as the supreme motive of character and the greatest power in realizing for each individual the highest purpose.

CHAPTER X

GIRLS' PROTECTIVE LEAGUE

A practical effort to carry out part of this program of prevention by securing moral protection for girls is being made in New York City through the Girls' Protective League. One evening after addressing a club of young working women with the thought that I might help to safeguard them, I talked informally with them about moral dangers in a big city. Several girls told of unfortunate experiences they had met in applying for positions through newspaper advertisements and employment agencies, and of dangers in their own places of work. One or two came to me after the meeting was over and told confidentially of personal problems which they were facing at that moment and of girls who were in danger. Suddenly the thought came to me that those young women going out into tenements, workshops, and amusement places could be a tremendous protective force. By telling us of dangers, they could help to strengthen the defenses in society; by protecting others, they would become stronger themselves. The Girls' Protective League was the result.

In 1910, the first leagues banded together for the purpose of securing moral protection for girls. The objects which they adopted and to which all members subscribe are:

- To protect girls from moral danger.
- To promote moral education.
- To stimulate right thinking and clean conversation.
- To improve economic conditions for girls.
- To secure wholesome recreation for girls.
- To stimulate faith in the possibilities of life.

This is a very ambitious program, yet it is proving to be a practical program which the girls are able to carry out. Through

striving to make real these ideals, the League is sounding the note of service for girls by girls, of education in principles which are fundamental in human life, of religion which touches the deepest springs of life. It is aiming to give to girls new hopes and ambitions and a new sense of the real meaning of life.

ORGANIZATION OF LEAGUES

We began by organizing self-governing clubs of 25 to 75 members each, in the neighborhoods where the girls lived. There are now over 2,500 members in 28 different leagues in different parts of New York City and leagues in three other cities. Not having club rooms of our own at first, we took any meeting place we could get in churches, public schools, settlements, libraries, and clubs. Each league elected its own officers, adopted its own by-laws, voted upon dues of five or ten cents a month so as to be self-supporting, and decided whether it would hold meetings weekly, bi-weekly or monthly. Each league has a volunteer leader who attends all the meetings and endeavors to guide the girls without directing them.

At one meeting each month a topic closely related to one of the objects of the League is discussed. The subject is presented in a ten or fifteen minute talk by the leader and then freely discussed by league members. One year discussions relate to improving recreation or economic conditions, another to methods of protecting girls from moral dangers. When the standard of living was discussed, the topics included: Standards of Dress, Standards of Work, Our Responsibilities at Home, Relation of Health to Efficiency and Happiness. When recreation was considered, careful study of laws and ordinances governing different forms of amusement in New York was made, and discussions were held on methods of inspection and supervision of amusement places, and on Using our Leisure, Making Vacations Worth While, and Favorite Kinds of Recreation. At times, discussions follow closely league objects and include:

Ways of Protecting Girls, Importance of Right Thinking, Possibilities of Life. In connection with the economic problem we have taken up the following: Hours of Work, Wages in Different Occupations, Unemployment, Training for Work, Dangerous Work, Child Labor, Labor Organizations, Benefit Organizations, and Promoting Efficiency in Work.

Each month officers of all the different leagues meet together to discuss policies and vote upon matters of vital concern to the League. They decide upon the percentage of their dues which they will vote for the expenses of the central League, the clubs and classes which they want during the coming year, and the plan of work for the next summer or winter.

The democratic spirit of the League was established at the very beginning. Young women of all nationalities, religions, and occupations were welcomed as members. Factory workers, saleswomen, clerks, waitresses, domestics, telephone operators, stenographers, music and art students, and girls without definite work, responded to the call to help in the protection of girls. Whether meeting to decide upon a program of work for the year, for a conference on League problems, for a debate on the Minimum Wage, or for a memorable Christmas entertainment at the Studio Club, there has always been the same spirit of comradeship and loyalty to League ideals. Bound together by a big common purpose league members are rapidly effecting a true democracy of girls.

PROTECTIVE LEAGUE CLUB

Nowhere is this democratic spirit more completely realized than at our Protective League Club. Members of the Junior League of New York City, a group of young society women, gave funds for the rent of the club house, helped to equip it, and are constantly giving personal service. When they help in the library, at dramatic entertainments, or at Christmas festivities, these Junior League members meet on the same basis with

girls from store and factory. At the same time that they are trying to help, they realize that they have much to learn from the working girls. They do not patronize them; they befriend them.

Members of the Protective League feel that the club belongs to them. They can come there any evening in the week to join one of the various classes or clubs or to read in the library; they hold league meetings, entertainments and officers' meetings in the large club rooms there; they come on Sunday afternoon for a cup of tea and to listen to good music and a speaker who has a real message. The girls come to the club in large numbers for monthly mass meetings and join eagerly in discussions on Child Labor, Fire Prevention, The Homeless Girl, and many other topics which concern them vitally. For example, when league members are stirred by a talk on "The Girl and Her Rights" by Mrs. Florence Kelley, they do not hesitate to ask questions and to express their own opinions and convictions. From such a meeting not merely have they learned important facts about the history of labor legislation and realized the difficulties of securing adequate laws and law enforcement; but their minds have been stimulated by the questions and the lively discussion and, most important of all, they have felt the inspiration of a big personality.

Not only is the League Club used for classes, entertainments and meetings, but it is also the home of a league worker who is there to advise with league members, answer their numberless questions, and receive girls who for some reason, need temporary lodging or care. Difficulty in finding lodging for girls brought by league members, for runaways, and others in great moral danger, made it necessary for us to have some rooms where we could care for them.

Among the girls brought to the club by league members, was sixteen-year-old Rebecca whose mother is a prostitute. Rebecca feared that her younger sister of thirteen would be led into immorality by some of the men who came each evening to

the small two-room apartment to visit her mother and a woman lodger. The league member, who was also sixteen years old, recognized that Rebecca was in the same great danger. As the result of investigation, the younger sister was taken in custody by the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, and a complaint of improper guardianship was made in the Children's Court. The mother disappeared as soon as she heard that action was being taken. Rebecca remained at the League Club while the case was pending in the court, and then eagerly accepted the opportunity given to her to enter a trade school.

Runaway girls brought to the New York Probation and Protective Association by the police are sent to the League Club when it is found that they have not been immoral. They remain for one or two or three days until arrangements are made for them to return to their homes or until their parents come for them. Among these are girls who in search of freedom have entered dangerous furnished-room houses, and others who have gone away to be "movie actresses" and have failed in their ambitions.

THE WAY THE LEAGUES WORK

The work accomplished by the different leagues in protecting girls from danger is told in reports given by members at the annual meeting. Girls tell of the ways in which they have carried out the objects of the League, of investigations in recreation places, factories, stores and tenements; of violations of laws they have reported; of moral dangers they have discovered; of girls they have tried to help, of Red Cross work or relief work they have undertaken, and of ways in which they have given recreation to others through raising funds to pay the board of convalescent girls at Arcadia Camp or providing entertainments for the aged, the sick, or the lonely.

We are assured that the girls themselves have caught the true spirit and the deep meaning of the League when we hear a large group singing heartily a song written by one of their members:

“With hearts and minds and bodies strong
To help the cause of right along,
We are banded in one countless throng
In protective leagues united.
As girls for girls our work is done,
With high ideals our cause is won,
For wholesome recreation and faith in life.”

PROTECTING GIRLS FROM MORAL DANGER

Everything that is done by members to uphold the ideals of the League helps to carry out the first object, of protecting girls. Each league member has the responsibility of reporting or helping girls in danger or trouble and of telling us of immoral conditions requiring correction. As they go to their work in stores, offices and factories, visit places of amusement, or return at night to their homes in crowded neighborhoods and tenements, they learn of girls who have run away to live in furnished rooms because of quarrels at home, and of dangers to the morals of other young women. Instead of looking down upon the tempted or immoral girl or talking secretly with others about bad conditions, as they have been accustomed to do, they report the facts to a league leader. Girls do not go out as detectives to discover immorality or vice; but when they come face to face with it, as it insinuates itself into their everyday life, they recognize their obligation to help in remedying it.

Many girls in grave danger, and others who have started to lead an immoral life, have been reported by league members. In some instances we are requested not to let the girl know who has told us of her need; at other times, a member brings a girl to us. One evening, a league president, nineteen years old, came to me after an officers' meeting, and said that she had brought with her a girl in great need of help. On her way to the meeting, she had seen this girl sitting alone on a bench in Madison Square Park, silently weeping. The league member sat down beside her, asked the cause of her trouble, and heard her story. Deserted by a man who had promised marriage and

soon to give birth to a child, sixteen-year-old Mildred had run away from her home in a small town in New York State. She had been unable to find work in the city, and did not know where to go or what to do. She had just determined to take her last ten cents to buy poison with which to end her life. The league member's act had saved her from it. We arranged for Mildred to enter a maternity hospital and later to go to work with her child.

At times, investigations of young girls reported by league members as in danger, lead directly to prosecution of men who have assaulted or abducted them. A mother confided to a league girl living in the same tenement house, her anxiety about her fifteen-year-old daughter, Bella, who staid out every night until 12 o'clock and was entirely beyond control. The widowed mother had been making a desperate effort to support Bella and five younger children, and was almost frantic with worry over this oldest child. Investigation showed that Bella had been leading an immoral life and associating with a dangerous gang of boys and men. Bella and three other girls were held as witnesses against six men who were indicted for crimes against these children.

Occasionally a young woman writes to us telling of another girl in danger, or to ask help for herself. After reading in a newspaper about the League, one girl wrote:

"I am a young girl, 19 years of age. Have not been working for the last eight weeks. I have tried so hard during that time. I have given up hope. No matter where I go, there is always something. I am a plain girl and sometimes feel heart-broken to think if that would make any difference in getting employment. I have no father—no one but my mother who is also out of work at present. My mother is not strong and it is wearing my life away to think. I am willing to work; I am not lazy. I am a little backward. Could that make a difference. What I have suffered in those weeks gone bye, I have no room to write. The last place I worked I was laid off—myself and

another girl who I like very much and who was a good girl—because we were not otherwise and would not make free with the boss. I came home that day and sat and cried with a broken heart. We are in such misery now. I would have nothing to wear had it not been given to me. The clothes I have on all were given to me. If it were not for a kind old lady who is paying the rent and who is with us too, I don't know what would become of mama and I. This old lady sells papers and has a hard time too. We can't depend all on her. She is doing what she can. I bought this paper and stamp with the last few pennies I had to ask your advice. I am discouraged and heart-broken. I can't be good no longer. My life is too hard to bear.

"Please answer is there any hope. I only wish God would help me not for my sake, but for mama's. She is the World to me."

At a moment of despair, the League was able to find employment for this girl, to befriend her, and surround her with the greater protection which she needed because she was a sub-standard worker.

In some instances, the League is able to give advice which prevents young women from coming to New York and which makes them more content in their own towns or cities. This was done for the writer of the following letter:

"I am a girl of 17 years of age. I haven't any mother. I would like to get work of some kind in New York and I wonder if you could help me. I have no sisters or brothers or many friends. So I would like to go to New York. The reason why I like to go to New York is that maybe if I have a good place to get work and to stay I may get in the movies. I would love to be a moving picture actress. I have no friends in New York and have no one that I could stay with. So if you can do anything for me I would thank you very much."

Efforts to carry out the spirit of the League are shown by the personal work of members. Some have taken responsibility for younger saleswomen and factory workers in their own places

of employment; others have befriended girls alone in the city or been "big sisters" to girls in need of help. When league members have been requested to aid in searching for a runaway girl whom they have known, they have responded eagerly. One girl after returning to her home in a small city continued to be a league worker there. She wrote:

"In our shop there is a girl she is not exactly a bad girl but she likes the fellows a great deal. When I went to the store no one would speak to her. And I told her why they wouldn't speak to her and now she listen to what I tell her just like you told me. And you can't believe what a good girl she is getting, it was a hard job but I going to fight hard for her. She is watching now as I'm writing this to you in the shop my dinner hour."

Among immoral conditions reported by girls, have been insults from employers and fellow workers, improper proposals when applying for positions through newspapers and employment agencies, use of unlighted hallways of tenements for prostitution, and hotels, rooming houses, and disorderly resorts into which they could look from the factory windows or which were patronized by girls from their stores or factories at the noon-hour or after work at night. These and other reports of immorality in amusement places, indecent exposure of men in public parks or street cars, and invitations from persons, apparently procurers, show how many insidious dangers threaten young women at every turn. Whenever sufficient evidence can be secured to warrant prosecution, a legal complaint is instituted. If this is not possible, enough pressure can frequently be brought to have licenses withdrawn from employment agencies, moving picture theatres, or dance halls, or to have orders issued by the Tenement House Department or the Board of Health to owners of houses. Sometimes a thorough investigation reveals conditions which warrant action on some other complaint than the one reported. A league member told of improper proposals made by the manager of her place of employ-

ment to herself and several other girls. An investigation, which showed that an illegal business in "fake" medicines was being carried on, resulted in convicting the owner and closing the place.

When nothing can be done to correct bad conditions in factories or stores, effort is made to prevent other girls from being sent to them. A blacklist of dangerous places is being gradually accumulated so that the Employment Exchange of the League will be able to safeguard girls for whom it finds positions. This information is also given confidentially to other organizations making request for it.

To deal wisely and effectively with reports of members, it is necessary to have one or more workers familiar with resources of helpfulness in the city and experienced in dealing with problems involving delinquency. The Protective League in New York through its close connection with the New York Probation and Protective Association, has been fortunate in this. Girls found to be delinquent are referred to Waverley House. Cases involving immoral conditions and procurers are taken up by the investigational department of the Association. Runaway girls, complaints against amusement resorts, furnished-room houses, and other places are referred to a Protective Bureau organized by the League in conjunction with the police department. Girls in moral danger and runaway girls who have returned to their homes are helped individually by workers of the League and are often admitted to leagues as members. The same kind of constructive work must be done for them as for delinquents. Quarrels at home must be adjusted; interesting work or trade training secured; opportunity for recreation afforded, and efforts made to change their point of view and their outlook on life. Through patient and persistent effort, these careless, incorrigible, and headstrong girls often become interested, responsible and co-operative. One element in their change of spirit is the opportunity for service given them through the Protective League.

PROMOTING MORAL EDUCATION

The League promotes moral education through lectures in factories, and at separate leagues, through personal work of league members, and through contact with women who inspire them to more useful living. Courses of lectures on social hygiene, with emphasis upon the moral side, have been given to leagues and to large groups of working girls in factories. Many young women have declared that in this way they have understood for the first time the mystery and wonder of life and the necessity for right conduct. They have appreciated more keenly the importance of their own example as an influence upon others, especially upon younger sisters. They have realized the obligation of girls to refrain from immodest and indecent dressing, and from sensual dancing. They have seen that they could help in the establishment of an equal standard of morality by demanding that the men whom they marry shall be physically and morally clean. Realizing that these young women will be the mothers of the next generation, and that their understanding will help them to train their own sons and daughters more wisely, we are convinced that this teaching of moral principles through talks, work, and association with women of personality and power is indeed worth while.

RIGHT THINKING AND CLEAN CONVERSATION

Girls encourage right thinking and clean conversation by seeking to develop new resources and refusing to listen to "bad talk" in their factories and workshops. They realize the harm of disgusting and immoral stories and make earnest effort to substitute something better. In several instances small groups have agreed to discuss current events, and in spite of ridicule and discouragement have persisted in it until they have changed the entire tone of their work-rooms. The declaration of one member that "girls talk only trash because they read only trash," has been confirmed by the statements of many

others. Careful questioning about reading has brought forth admissions that girls read nothing but "advice to the lovelorn," short stories in evening newspapers, and murder trials. A few have found interest in the "society notes." Members declared that the number of ambitious girls who spent spare moments in study and who talked intelligently on many subjects was very small. One member said, "There is a Russian girl in our league and all she does when she gets through work is to study, study all the time. She says she can't understand how we American girls can go to dances and laugh all the time when lots of people don't get enough to eat." The explanation given for easy reading was that girls were so tired after work that they couldn't keep their minds down to anything. But this was not the only true reason. Many had never developed a taste for good books and had not realized that there was anything beautiful in literature. When their interest has been stimulated, they have found delight in poetry and drama and history and books dealing with social or economic problems.

Since thoughts are most important factors in determining actions, too great emphasis cannot be laid upon right thinking. Bad thinking is destructive and harmful; right thinking strengthens character. In stimulating right thinking development of new resources is most important. When new pictures are presented through books or art or nature, minds are enriched and horizons widened. Poems and songs learned in the Expression Class or the Glee Club become a permanent possession. Swimming and boating and life out-of-doors during a two-weeks' vacation at Arcadia Camp, add to their small fund of interests. Everything that gives new incentive, awakens new ambitions, or fires the imagination with fresh zeal for accomplishment is of value in developing right, positive thinking.

IMPROVING ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Members are eager about improving economic conditions. This is a big task, yet not too big for hundreds of earnest work-

ing girls who feel keenly the wrongs of the industrial system as it grinds upon them and their sister-workers. By understanding labor laws and reporting violations, furnishing information about wages and conditions in places of employment, helping to establish greater co-operation with employers, and realizing the necessity of training and increased efficiency in work, league members are making a determined effort to improve conditions for the great masses of young working women.

Through the League, factory and store workers are learning for the first time about laws for their protection. Many of them have not known that according to the laws in New York State, girls between fourteen and sixteen years of age should not work in a factory before eight in the morning or after five at night, or more than eight hours a day or forty-eight hours a week; that it is illegal for young women under twenty-one to work after nine o'clock at night, and for any woman to do night work in a factory between the hours of ten at night and six in the morning. Laws have new meaning to workers when they learn that they protect girls between fourteen and sixteen from working in stores before eight in the morning and after six in the evening, and limit the day to eight hours and the week to forty-eight hours. They are interested also in knowing about legal sanitary requirements and measures for fire prevention.

Understanding that they can help to enforce laws and that their action may safeguard many, members report violations in their places of employment. By this means we have a large force of volunteer factory inspectors. Reports of violations sent to the league office or given orally at league meetings are forwarded to the Department of Labor. That no girl may be in danger of losing her position, the name of the complainant is withheld. Keeping fifteen-year-old girls in factories after five o'clock at night has been the most frequent violation reported. Some members have reported that girls under sixteen were sent out when it was known that a factory inspector was in the

building; others have told of employers who regularly used "under-age girls" to do errands or deliver bundles between five and six in the afternoon. One report stated that girls, fourteen and fifteen years old, were locked in a workroom until half-past nine at night and not permitted to go out to purchase a sandwich for supper. A few days after this complaint was received, the league member saw an official inspector enter the factory. When it was reported at the next league meeting that the owner had been fined \$100 by the court, she exclaimed: "I hope that will teach him a lesson to treat us girls right. I never knew till I learned it here at the League that we could change things ourselves."

Workers assume responsibility for seeing that fire regulations are observed. When they know that 147 of their factory-sisters were burned to death in the Triangle factory fire because exits were locked, and that in the Diamond factory fire, twelve women—one a girl of fifteen—were tortured on the red hot grill that had once been a fire escape, because laws were disregarded, members feel their obligation to prevent such disasters in their own places of employment.

Bad conditions, even when not illegal, are reported. These include constant sweeping of rooms with closed windows, use of unguarded and dangerous machines, dangers from gases and chemicals, serious accidents in factories, and contracts which reveal exploitation of young immigrant girls.

Even if leagues do not take direct action to increase wages their influence may eventually help in this. By accumulating budgets of expenses and facts about wages, and by furnishing information on the basis of which a true picture of the wage situation can be presented to individual employers, leagues are giving valuable aid. Too few employers have been concerned about how girls lived on the low wages, who made up the deficit between wage and cost of living, or what became of the young women during the long slack seasons. Some owners have satisfied their consciences by giving employment only to girls living

at home and have not considered whether families were overburdened by giving partial support or whether their employees had adequate food. Workers were only cards in a card catalogue—not human beings with hearts and souls. Fortunately, more employers are recognizing that the welfare of workers, as well as large financial profits, should be of concern to them. Whether or not employers pay a living wage they are at least questioning what it is and are trying to approach it more nearly.

League members have voted upon \$9 as a living wage for women in New York City. A few said that \$8 was adequate, and others insisted that a girl should have \$10 a week "in order to feel easy." They have supported this decision by statements of their own expenses. Girls agreed that \$56 a year was the minimum amount on which a girl could dress herself, and even that would not permit of a "party dress." Nearly all the young women living at home gave their entire wage to their families. Some received back a small allowance for carfares and lunches; others were given money for clothes and a small amount for amusement. Usually they made no objection to handing over their entire wage, but a few resented giving in everything when their brothers only paid \$4 or \$5 a week for board or were lazy and refused to work.

A greater spirit of co-operation between employers and employees in some establishments has been effected by the League. Workers have been suspicious of everything that employers did for them and attributed some ulterior motive. They declared that they would be ground down still more to pay for the welfare department, recreation and lunch rooms, and training classes. One girl said: "Oh, these things he gives us—library, magazines, talking machines and all that, are just to pacify us so when he cuts prices we won't quit. What do we care about these things? We want to make all the money we can. The more of these things we get, the less money we make." It was significant, however, that a few months later when the white

goods workers were on strike throughout the city, the girls in this factory refused to leave their work. "It didn't seem fair to desert him after he'd been so good to us," one of the league members said. Frank discussions with girls often have made them more willing to wait and see what were the employer's motives. As a result, many have gradually acquired a fairer viewpoint and become convinced of the employer's good faith. Some employers have seen more clearly the needs of their workers and have honestly sought to improve conditions. Establishment of this spirit of mutual confidence will eventually help much in improving conditions for workers.

Discussion about different trades reveals the spirit of girls in their work and helps them to find their own employment more interesting. The monotony and speeding-up processes are the most baffling problems. Dull, deadening work without any satisfaction or joy in the result, causes one girl to cry: "Oh, this monotony—it's dreadful. The same thing day after day. It's the monotony of life that makes a girl desperate." Another girl showed her rebellion against factory methods by her words: "Gee, how can any girl really take pride in her work and enjoy it when we're speeded up so. We can't do anything well. It's just rush, rush all day long. It's no use. The boss doesn't care whether it kills us or not—all he wants is more work." A different spirit was expressed by another girl: "I am a trimmer and I just love my work. If I go to the shop in the morning and don't feel good, when I see it all the bad feelings go. I plan out how much it is going to take to make a garment and then I work hard and make it, and often I get it done in the time I plan." Understanding of materials and processes and other parts of the work than one small operation performed by an individual adds great interest. Some girls tell of the composition and history of materials and describe fully processes used in binding books or magazines and in making garments, umbrellas, perfumes, lenses, and other articles. Questions about processes have been discouraged in some places

through fear that information was being secured for competitors.

Increased efficiency in work is of most vital concern to the League. Members are shown that opportunity to advance in their positions and to secure higher wages lies along the path of greater efficiency. Methods of becoming more valuable in their factories and workshops are discussed. Girls are interested in questions of scientific management, relation of fatigue to efficiency, and importance of right mental attitude toward work. They recount experiments they have tried for saving time and effort, and suggest new schemes for that purpose. Practical methods by which stenographers may become increasingly valuable to employers are studied in a Business Efficiency Class of the League. When workers fully appreciate how much they can do by their own efforts to become superior workers there will be greater progress. Discussions about efficiency inevitably lead to questions of preparation for definite trades.

Special training for work is promoted by the League. A fund has been established to provide scholarships for girls who cannot otherwise afford to give up time or incur the expense of learning a trade. In some instances where it has not been necessary to provide tuition, a scholarship has been given in lieu of wages. During the winter of 1914 to 1915, when for a time industry in the United States felt the paralyzing effect of war in Europe and large numbers of young women were suddenly thrown out of work, special industrial and clerical classes were organized by a Mayor's Committee on Unemployment in co-operation with various organizations. As a relief measure and to provide training, many league members were given scholarships for a few weeks or months in these classes. Others had the privilege of entering for a longer period schools or places of work which offered special training. Altogether, the League made it possible for 124 young women during that winter to receive additional preparation for work. Appreciation

of the value of this was shown by the willingness with which girls gave up the prospect of a \$5 or \$6 wage for the sake of remaining in a trade class where they received only \$3.

Continuance at public expense of test classes at the Manhattan Trade School and at one of the city high schools is a permanent result of the special scholarship work. During a period of three weeks, adaptability for machine operating, sewing, millinery, pasting trades, or clerical work is established, and on the basis of this, advice and direction regarding employment are given.

Among the girls who have been given scholarships by the League was a young Russian girl of seventeen, a president of one of the leagues. Sadie came to me the night of our Christmas entertainment and told me that she had just been laid off from the office where she had been earning \$6 a week and then confided her ambition to go to school. She had received word from a western academy that she could earn her board by doing housework, and that the expense for tuition and books would be less than a hundred dollars. Both Sadie's mother and father were dead, and she had no relatives able to help her. Her great faith in the League gave her courage to ask if there was any way. I promised to see what I could do. The next day we secured the necessary funds and within a week had completed arrangements for her to go to the academy. Before school closed, Sadie was offered a position as stenographer for the summer at \$15 a week. By her own work she has been able to pay all her expenses during the second year. The League only helped to give her a start.

EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGE

- Helping young women to find suitable work and to avoid dangerous places and occupations is a task assumed by the League through its Employment Exchange. League members have made the bureau a real exchange. Not only do they look to it when out of work for positions for themselves and their

friends; but they have the obligation of notifying the Exchange of vacancies known to them in their own places or elsewhere. As far as possible girls are placed at work for which they are best fitted and which offers greatest opportunity for advancement. Need of this has been shown by the hit-or-miss methods used by girls in securing their own positions. They have not entered work because of any interest or adaptability for it. "You don't choose—you just take a chance," said one girl. "You hear someone say what is nice work and you learn it because she likes it." Another volunteered the information: "You look in the papers, answer an ad, or see a sign on the building 'Young girls wanted,' and you stick to whatever you get." Reason for disregard of the kind of work was shown by statements of several who agreed, "Girls pick out work only as a temporary thing and plan to get married soon." Some girls have definite ideas about the employment they wish. They refuse to consider factory work and insist upon being sales-women or stenographers. Uneducated, incompetent clerical workers, turned out in large numbers by public schools and so-called business colleges, insist upon office work. Young women who say that they love to do housework and would willingly do it in homes of their own, declare that nothing would induce them to enter domestic service. In view of lack of any choice of work by some and of fixed opinions of others, the Employment Exchange has not an easy task. Yet through it many are receiving vocational guidance and protection from moral dangers.

Young women who come to the Employment Exchange in search of work are frequently without funds for living expenses. Some have had no money to pay for rent of their furnished rooms or for food or carfare; others have consumed their small savings by the cost of medicines. Occasionally a girl admits that she has only ten cents left. A Loan Fund and a Relief Fund have been established by the League to meet temporarily these needs. Individual leagues have also helped some of their members at a difficult time of unemployment.

RECREATION

League members endeavor to secure wholesome recreation for girls by seeking to improve existing places of amusement and providing good resources of pleasure. Not only do they report moving picture theatres, dance halls, and recreation piers which are morally dangerous, but those which violate state laws and city ordinances and where physical conditions are bad. In some moving picture theatres, children have been found unaccompanied by adults; the same toilets have been used by men and women; ventilation and lighting have been inadequate; aisles have been overcrowded, and improper films exhibited. A study of the character of films showed many scenes of crime or violence and pictures bordering on vulgarity.

Violations of ordinances relating to amusement places are reported to the Bureau of Licenses for investigation and remedy. The result has frequently been the temporary suspension of licenses until conditions have been remedied; in other cases licenses have been revoked.

Entertainments are given by leagues for the pleasure of members, friends, and persons less fortunate than themselves, or to raise money for league work. Christmas is always a happy time with festivities at the Studio Club, an entertainment at the League Club for a group of poor children belonging to families of our girls, and visits to different hospitals to sing Christmas carols. Girls who have sung Christmas songs in hospital wards and given their little plays at the Home for the Aged on Blackwell's Island said that they had never had greater joy than in giving this happiness to others. Special funds have been raised by different leagues through their fairs, receptions and dramatic entertainments. Girls know that on Saturday evening they will always find an entertainment at the League Club. Sunday afternoon they bring their friends and girls living in furnished rooms to the informal tea at which each league is hostess in turn. Members of one league, who have made a special

study of art, have taken girls to the Metropolitan Art Museum. "I was so excited," said a factory girl after one of these trips. "I never knew it was so wonderful before. Oh, it was grand, grand! I want to go every Sunday afternoon, and just sit and look at those pictures." Holidays and special festivities are celebrated by exercises or entertainments. The monthly mass meetings bring large groups of girls together to discuss serious topics and also for good fun and amusement.

In the summer, day trips to country or seashore and vacations at the League Camp in New Jersey, give chance for recreation out-of-doors. Under a trained physical director at the Camp, girls learn to swim and row and form the habit of daily gymnastic exercises before breakfast. One girl wrote after her return, "I take daily exercises I learned at Camp and much do I appreciate the physical training taught me." Taking their lunch with them or provisions for a "bacon bat," girls go off on long "hikes" into the hills or across country. Many who have never known the country before, learn to love it and look back to the two weeks at Arcadia Camp with deepest pleasure. One girl wrote: "It was with great sorrow that I left the place I have learned to love as my home. I wish I might be back in the land of Arcady for at least a month. I think you appreciate the Camp more when you get back to the noise and hub-bub of the city."

FAITH IN THE POSSIBILITIES OF LIFE

By stimulating faith in the possibilities of life, the League is doing its most vital work. It is arousing loyalty and enthusiasm for highest ideals of character and service; it is calling girls away from the struggles and pleasures and drudgery of their routine work-a-day life and bidding them direct attention to the highest, the God-like, the spiritual. It is seeking to give purpose to lives that they may yield the richest and best. Without regard to creed or dogma, we can present to girls of widely differing religious faiths, great fundamental spiritual truths.

By arousing ideals and helping to make possible their realization, by inspiring through teaching of the lives of great men and women who have suffered and wrought great characters as well as deeds, by revealing the beautiful in life through nature and art and books and friends, by helping to open powerless lives to the forces of the great God-spirit, we are revealing a new world of opportunity and service and laying the foundations of strongest character. This work is only in its beginning, yet here lies the path to greatest opportunity. When we realize more keenly the need of the spiritual, we shall proclaim this truth with greater earnestness and with greater result. Nothing does the League desire as greatly as this, that by the depth of its spiritual influence it may build up within young womanhood invincible character as the greatest moral protection.

When girls understand how they can help in this great work of moral protection, they become enthusiastic about it. Through it, they are comprehending the meaning of neighborliness, of service, and of a larger citizenship. Through it, we are utilizing that splendid zeal, ardor, enthusiasm, and loyalty, so characteristic of youth, for the solution of one of society's most baffling problems. When we have fully comprehended the possibility of that force, we shall make greater efforts to give it opportunity for expression and to make it a regenerating power in the world. When young people are kindled with such spiritual zeal, fewer will be drawn down into the awful tide of prostitution; more will be living happy, serviceable lives.

CHAPTER XI

A PLEA FOR EMANCIPATION

We have seen unprotected girls through a combination of powerful forces caught and held by prostitution. We have watched them night after night as they went out to the streets to ply their hideous trade. We have looked at them passing in long procession before the court on the way to workhouse or prison. We have listened at one moment to their inner groanings of spirit; at another to curses against fate and God. We have heard their bitter denunciation of cruel stepfathers, of heartless employers, of faithless lovers, of men who have sought only gratification of bestial passions, of grafting police who hounded and caught them, of judges who sentenced them, of society which approved a different standard for men, punished erring women, and allowed their partners in vice to go free. We would forget their stinging words, but we cannot. We are forced to admit the truth. The pale-faced woman, embittered and hardened by her vicious living, should not be standing there at the bar. Negligent parents and teachers, selfish employers, indifferent clergy, dishonest officials, untrue legislators, dishonorable men, and all of us citizens who have failed to war against vice, should be arraigned instead of her. We have neglected to protect the innocence and virtue of children; we have failed to help unfortunate women; we have disregarded the presence in our cities of this hideous monster *Vice*. We have blamed the individual girl and thought her vicious and bad. We have not laid the blame where it belongs—upon ourselves.

What defense can we offer? Have we been concerned with more important matters? Have we been ignorant of the horrors of vice? Have we been unconscious of our responsibility

for it? None of these suffices. We know that the moral welfare of boys and girls is of supreme concern. We have seen the results of prostitution in diseased bodies, in wrecked lives, in broken character, in blinded souls. We have known that it was our duty to take action, yet we have failed. We can find no excuse for our negligence. The indictment, uttered with splendid fervor by these young women, must stand against all of us. *We must plead guilty to the charge. We are to blame.*

How can we make amends? We can demand that laws be enforced and exploitation by procurers abolished. We can elect honest, intelligent officials who will respect their high oath of office, and divorce politics from vice. Instead of condemning women offenders and sending them to prison, we can help them through more humane methods of treatment. By establishing a probation system, houses of detention, reformatories and farm colonies, we can make it possible for many to return to normal, useful living and prevent others from spreading abroad the contamination of their presence.

But we must do more than direct our attack against existing vice. A great campaign must be inaugurated to save little children, now playing happily on the streets of our cities, from being dragged into prostitution. Homes must be made physically and morally better, industrial conditions improved, better opportunities for recreation afforded, unprotected girls safeguarded, and the characters of young women strengthened. To lessen the problem for the future and prevent mentally deficient children from being born, wider provision must be made for feeble-minded girls and women. Demand for vice must be lessened by training boys in self-control, by arousing them to help in the protection of young womanhood, and by exacting of men the same high standard demanded of women.

Let each of us question whether or not he is doing his share.

As parents, are you helping your children to build strong characters, able to conquer temptations? As fathers, are you hold-

ing before your sons the highest example of controlled and upright living?

As teachers, are you bearing responsibility for training both the minds and souls of your students? Are you stimulating them to highest ambitions by the inspiration of your lives?

As employers, do you care about the moral welfare of your workers as well as large financial gains? Do you know whether or not in your store, factory, or workshop, girls are on the brink of avoidable danger?

As physicians, are you giving false or true teachings to boys; are you helping, morally as well as physically, perplexed young men and women who entrust their secrets to you?

As city and state officials, commissioners, legislators, judges and mayors, are you doing the most you can to provide for the recreation, education, and protection of youth; are you punishing or reforming offenders; are you tolerating or crushing vice?

As religious teachers, are you holding high the torch of faith, laying strong foundations of character, and deepening spiritual vision?

As citizens, all, are we fulfilling our duty to elect honest officials, to demand enforcement of laws, to save young girls and women from vice? Are we using our influence to change public attitude toward women who have erred, and to place the burden upon society? Do we realize that girls have not entered prostitution because they are vicious and bad, but largely because we have failed to surround them with adequate protection, and to equip them with power to resist temptation? Do we know what methods are being applied in our own cities, and by moral or financial support are we helping forward that work? Are we doing the thing that lies nearest to us, aiding individuals who need our help, and being in truth our brother's keeper?

If the heart-cries of young girls who are suffering the tortures of this dreadful life could be made to ring perpetually in our consciences, we would not tolerate the existence of such a horrible wrong. We would arise with tremendous power and

crush the enemy. To free men and women from physical bondage the life-blood of our nation was spent. A worse slavery exists in our midst to-day. Women are held in moral and spiritual bondage which deadens and destroys their highest powers. To free them from vice, we must summon greater enthusiasm, zeal, and courage, than would be required for physical combat. We must give not only our lives, but our souls. The fight will be long, hard, continuous; yet ultimate success must come. A social conscience, quickened by the suffering of God's children, will not be stilled until this spiritual victory is won and the world is freed from the slavery of prostitution.

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